

THE STANDARD

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CLEVELAND AND SILVER. — The brief letter written by ex-President Cleveland to the Reform Club's Cooper Union meeting was a bold and brave utterance in keeping with the whole public career of the man. It does not antagonize those advocates of silver coinage who oppose monometalism, and seek by international agreement to establish an accepted relation of value between the two metals, and Mr. Cleveland appears to admit that our people "have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume" of a currency based on silver, but he unhesitatingly opposes the pending free coinage bill as a dangerous and reckless experiment. His letter was addressed to the President of the Reform Club, who was chairman of the meeting, and it was as follows :

February 10, 1891.

E. ELLERY ANDERSON, Chairman.

DEAR SIR: I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening the meeting called for the purpose of voicing the position of the business men of our city to "the free coinage of silver in the United States."

I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on this subject. It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest peril would be invited by the adoption of the scheme embraced in the measure now pending in Congress for the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.

If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of this currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, other conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if in the present situation we enter upon the dangerous, the reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage. Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The letter has created a sensation little short of that caused by his famous tariff message. It is received with expressions of regret, alarm and even of disgust by many Democrats of the South and West, while on the other hand, it is hailed with almost universal satisfaction by the Democrats of the North and East, the only exception being among Democrats with grievances, who think that they see in it the opportunity for the political destruction of Mr. Cleveland and the exaltation of Governor Hill, or some other machine politician. All, however, be they friends or foes, recognize Mr. Cleveland's act as a characteristically courageous one.

The letter unquestionably raises the question as to whether the Democratic party shall enter the coming presidential campaign with Grover Cleveland as its candidate and the reduction of tariff taxation as the issue, or with some one else as its candidate, with the free coinage of silver as the predominant issue, and the tariff question side-tracked. This is the exact form that the question has assumed, and all talk about a compromise by which Mr. Cleveland shall be made the candidate on a platform of which he repudiates the principal plank is idle and silly. In the first place he is not that kind of a man. Had he been a trimmer the letter to the Cooper Union meeting would not have been written. On the other hand, any man willing to assume such a position would be sure of a well-deserved defeat, and no party in its sober senses would think of seeking to win votes by declaring for legislation that the candidate for President would be sure to veto. No "compromise" of that kind is possible, and the question as we have stated it must be met.

When the Democrats come to soberly consider this question they must, at the very threshold, recognize the fact that it is not Mr. Cleveland but the silver men who are demanding that the party shall take a new

departure. Mr. Cleveland, while President, left no one in doubt as to his views on the silver question. He was on record as opposed to increased silver coinage even before he was inaugurated, and, as Mr. Fairchild testified at the Cooper Union meeting, he, as President, gave to both Secretaries Manning and Fairchild a determined and unwavering support in their resistance to the silver craze throughout his administration. With a full knowledge of these facts the St. Louis convention renominated Mr. Cleveland by acclamation, and on a platform that made tariff reduction the paramount issue and did not even allude to the silver question. It was the Republicans who chose to pose as the friends of silver in that contest, and their platform not only declared "in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money," but it specifically condemned "the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." Let there be no mistake about this. Those Democrats who are denouncing Mr. Cleveland's letter are the men who have changed, and they are now demanding that, under the influence of a temporary excitement, the Democratic party shall take up an issue that the Republican party, after much coddling and cherishing, deliberately threw away as a losing one. Mr. Cleveland stands to-day on the platform of the Democratic party as declared by its last national convention, and he is the representative and almost the incarnation of the issue of the last campaign—the issue on which the Democratic party swept the country in the recent congressional elections. This is not conclusive, but it is a factor in the problem that must not be forgotten.

Remembering this, let the Democratic leaders consider this proposal to relegate to the rear the tariff issue and make this coinage question the paramount and dominant issue in the coming presidential campaign. They have not done much considering thus far. They have simply rushed along, yielding to an honest craze among many people, which has been skilfully directed and stimulated by as unscrupulous and as well paid a lobby as ever worked to promote legislation for the advancement of the private interests it served. They assumed that everybody would yield to the influence that had so easily overwhelmed themselves. Now they find their judgment challenged and their policy condemned by the only man whom they have been able to seat in the Presidential chair for thirty-five years, and the only man who, since the civil war, has had the sense and courage necessary to give them an issue that has at once strengthened and united them, and won for their party the confidence and enthusiasm of the new generation that must soon dominate public affairs. This sharp cry of "Halt!" is a most timely one. It comes long enough before the time for final action to give all concerned opportunity to pause and consider. Let the men who are now declaring that Cleveland has committed political suicide begin to study election returns and count the votes in the next electoral college. We give them elsewhere some figures worthy of their consideration. Let them think what the tariff issue has done for them before they seek to throw it away and substitute another that will assuredly divide their party, and they will begin to doubt the wisdom of such a change of issues and men, and many of them will be

glad to forget some of their recent excited utterances. Grover Cleveland is far from political death, and the issue of taxation is not going to give way to any minor question.

And right here comes in the consideration that should cause Single Tax men throughout the country to stand together in opposing any attempt to exalt a currency question at the expense of the vital question of taxation. Many of them doubtless believe that a large increase in the volume of the currency is desirable. Many others doubtless believe that such an increase would be injurious. All despite these differences, are honestly seeking the righting of the wrongs that cause these demands for radical changes. When the currency issue is a practical one THE STANDARD will be ready to discuss it and to proclaim and defend its own opinions, regardless of consequences good or bad to itself. But that is not the issue now, and the tariff is the issue. An effort is now making to reverse this and relegate the tariff question to the rear. All true Single Tax men understand that a false system of taxation is primarily responsible for the existing economic and social evils, and they likewise comprehend the importance of doing one thing at a time, and of sticking to that thing until it is completed. They should, therefore, whatever their views on the currency question, stand together as one man against the attempt to substitute that question for the question of taxation, and make their influence immediately felt in resisting the effort in that direction. The policy we have pursued during the past four years has been justified by results, and we are but continuing it when we now stand in support of Grover Cleveland on the issue that he gave to the Democratic party, and on which alone we are led to support that party.

GOVERNOR HILL.—The past week has been one that Governor Hill will look back upon as a memorable one in his career, and we greatly doubt if the retrospect will be a pleasant one. He has succeeded in inducing Republican Senators to assist him in making ex-Senator Pierce Insurance Commissioner. We know nothing as to the truth of the serious charges made against Mr. Pierce, but it is a fact that no attempt to answer them was made, and, under the circumstances, the appointment displayed a most cynical disregard of decent public opinion.

Then the Watterson incident is not one to add to the Governor's good name. The Sun managed, in some fashion, to get hold of a private letter written last November by Henry Watterson to Governor Hill, in which Mr. Watterson assured him that Democratic sentiment throughout the country was overwhelmingly in favor of the renomination of Grover Cleveland. Mr. Watterson reminded Governor Hill that all over the country there are Democrats who are convinced that he (the Governor) betrayed and defeated Cleveland in 1888, and he urged on him the good policy of bringing New York to support Cleveland for renomination as the only means by which he could rehabilitate himself in the good opinion of his party. When his attention was called to the publication, Governor Hill declared that he had never received such a letter, and said it must be a silly and impudent forgery, since he did not believe that Henry Watterson would have been guilty of sending him such an "insulting and impertinent communication." Thereupon Mr. Watterson publicly acknowledged the authorship of the letter, said he had mailed it to the Governor, and that he regarded it as sound advice, which he had the right to offer to a leading Democrat. The notable thing about the incident is the outspoken incredulity with which Governor Hill's declaration that he never received the letter is received even by his friends. Nobody really puts any faith in the Governor's word.

Right upon the heels of this came Governor Hill's utter failure to take any notice of the invitation to address or write to the Reform Club's silver meeting. It seems perfectly clear that in this case Governor Hill deliberately dodged a responsibility that Grover Cleveland bravely met. For the immediate present this seems to have inured to the Governor's political advantage, but it will, in the long run, utterly destroy him by taking from him the support of the State of New York, without which he would not receive a single vote for nomination as President in any conceivable national convention. In times like these, when courage and straightforwardness are in demand, artful dodgers like Governor Hill come to grief. They may go on deluding themselves with the idea that their tricks have succeeded, but when the test finally comes, like the Irishman's friend, "they wake up and find themselves dead." That is an experience that Governor Hill will have in the Summer of 1892. He can be spared.

CAN THE DEMOCRATS WIN IN 1892?—There are a number of farmers' organizations bearing similar names, and it is somewhat difficult at times to estimate the exact importance of the action taken by any one organization. The chief organization, which recently held its national convention at Ocala, Florida, has not yet determined to go into third party politics, and it evidently has many members who are opposed to such a policy. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of its members are manifestly determined to form a third party, and there is no probability that they can be restrained by their more reasonable associates from adopting such a course. We mentioned last week the announcement by Capt. Power, of Indiana, that the conference of labor organizations and farmers in Cincinnati on May 19th will meet for the express purpose of organizing a third party that will adopt the Ocala platform, and nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. It seems, however, that there is another body of farmers who do not insist on the leading feature of the Ocala platform—the demand that the Government shall lend greenbacks to farmers on the pledge of farm products as security—and this body, which is also called the National Farmers' Alliance, recently held its annual meeting at Omaha, Nebraska. It expressed its wish for a national independent convention to nominate Presidential candidates, and sent out a form of call for such a convention, which is to be issued if it obtains a sufficient number of signatures. Its platform is as follows:

1. The free and unlimited coinage of silver.
2. The abolition of national banks, and the substitution for their notes of legal tender treasury notes; and the increase of currency to \$50 per capita.
3. Government ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones.
4. The prohibition of alien ownership of land, and of gambling in stocks, options and futures.
5. The adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring the election of President and Vice-President and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
6. The Australian ballot system.

Whether the adherents of the Ocala platform will consent to accept this in place of their own platform as a basis for political action remains to be seen, but there seems little reason to doubt that a third party will be organized on some such platform, *unless the Democratic party, itself, practically accepts the Alliance principles and commits itself boldly to the free and unlimited coinage of silver.* It is natural to presume that before adopting such a course the party leaders will calculate somewhat carefully the probable losses and gains to be expected from a change of front that will relegate the present tariff question to the rear and make free coinage the paramount issue in the campaign of 1892. By way of assisting in the consideration of this question THE STANDARD submits the

following figures as a suggestion of reasonable probabilities in case the Democratic surrender is sufficient to prevent any really important movement in support of third party candidates :

	On the Silver Issue.		On the Tariff Issue.			On the Silver Issue.		On the Tariff Issue.	
	D.	R.	D.	R.		D.	R.	D.	R.
Alabama.....	11	—	11	—	Nevada.....	3	—	—	3
Arkansas.....	8	—	8	—	New Hampshire.....	—	4	—	4
California.....	—	9	—	9	New Jersey.....	—	10	—	10
Colorado.....	4	—	—	4	New York.....	—	36	—	36
Connecticut.....	—	6	6	—	North Carolina.....	11	—	—	11
Delaware.....	3	—	3	—	North Dakota.....	3	—	—	3
Florida.....	4	—	4	—	Ohio.....	—	23	—	23
Georgia.....	13	—	13	—	Oregon.....	—	4	—	4
Idaho.....	3	—	—	3	Pennsylvania.....	—	32	—	32
Illinois.....	—	24	—	24	Rhode Island.....	—	4	—	4
Indiana.....	—	15	15	—	South Carolina.....	9	—	—	9
Iowa.....	—	13	13	—	South Dakota.....	4	—	—	4
Kansas.....	10	—	—	10	Tennessee.....	12	—	—	12
Kentucky.....	13	—	13	—	Texas.....	15	—	—	15
Louisiana.....	8	—	8	—	Vermont.....	—	4	—	4
Maine.....	—	6	—	6	Virginia.....	12	—	—	12
Maryland.....	8	—	8	—	Washington.....	—	4	—	4
Massachusetts.....	—	15	15	—	West Virginia.....	6	—	—	6
Michigan.....	—	14	14	—	Wisconsin.....	—	12	—	12
Minnesota.....	—	9	9	—	Wyoming.....	3	—	—	3
Mississippi.....	9	—	9	—					
Missouri.....	17	—	17	—	Total.....	200	244	300	144
Montana.....	3	—	3	—					
Nebraska.....	8	—	—	8	Majority.....	—	44	156	—

In the columns giving the probable vote on the Tariff issue, no State is assigned to the Democrats that did not, on that issue, in the Congressional elections of last Fall, cast a majority of its votes for Democratic candidates. On the other hand, tried by this test, Illinois, Ohio and Iowa, with sixty electoral votes, should be taken from the Republican column and transferred to the Democratic column, while Kansas would be sure to vote for third party candidates in case neither of the old parties were committed to free coinage. Without making such a transfer, it is reasonably safe to assume that the probability of Democratic success on the Tariff issue in Ohio, Illinois and Iowa, is quite as good as that of the Republicans recovering the States they lost in a direct contest on this issue last November. So far as the estimate of the probable vote on the silver issue is concerned, every vote that the Democrats could reasonably expect is assigned them. Taking these figures as a whole, they are not such as will be likely to lead intelligent Democratic leaders to favor "swapping horses while crossing the stream."

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTIONS.—When our recruit subscription books were first prepared there was some complaint that the prices, especially for the \$1 books, approximated too closely to the retail price of the paper. Now that the paper has been enlarged and improved and its price increased proportionately, this objection no longer holds good, as the books are still sold at the old prices. Our experience already demonstrates that the greater variety of topics discussed is beginning to bring to THE STANDARD new subscribers from beyond the ranks of the Single Taxers; but it ought to have a much wider circulation among men interested in economic questions and public affairs generally, and no better way of introducing it formally to the notice of those likely to be interested can be devised than the use of these recruit subscription books.

They are so arranged as to give those using them comparatively little trouble. No remittance is necessary after a book is once purchased, since each leaf is a paid order for a four weeks' subscription to the paper. As soon as one of these orders is received at the office, the person designated is notified that at the request of the person sending in the order, THE STANDARD will be mailed to him for four weeks, and that unless he becomes a subscriber it will be stopped at the end of that time. This not only inclines the recipient to examine the paper more closely, but it relieves him from any fear

that the publisher is trying to force a paper on him without his consent.

Of course we understand that those who use these books are rendering THE STANDARD a valuable service at their own cost. That is just what they were devised for. The paper has not a large capital that will enable it to make a free distribution of copies, either for its own benefit or for propaganda purposes. We know, however, that the paper has thousands of friends eager to do anything in their power to increase its prosperity and widen the sphere of its influence. It is a nuisance to such people to buy papers and mail them, and many of them have eagerly embraced this convenient plan for reaching their friends. Of late we have not been pressing the matter on the attention of our readers, but the change in form has called forth such general commendation that we believe great good can be accomplished through an active renewal of this method of calling the attention of thoughtful people to the merits and attractions of THE STANDARD, and we have accordingly resumed advertising these recruit subscription books.

BLAINE'S "FREE TRADE."—Mr. Shriver could not very carefully have read the article entitled "Blaine, the Free Trader," in the last issue of THE STANDARD if he drew from it an inference that we think that that tricky politician is consciously carrying out any policy antagonistic to the protected monopolies. We can only guess at Mr. Blaine's motives, but it seems reasonably certain that his political instinct taught him that McKinley's crazy scheme was one that would endanger the protection policy by a method analogous to that of the fool in the fable, who killed the goose that laid the golden egg. He had not the power and prestige that enabled Henry Clay half a century ago to save all that could be saved of protection for several years, but he unquestionably did protest against the McKinley folly, and he probably was not the least happy man in the United States when the election returns came in, showing how overwhelmingly the people had rebuked McKinleyism. The result not merely indicated his judgment, but gave him a better place in his party.

His reciprocity scheme is, doubtless, intended to "throw a tub to the whale" and to exalt himself in the eyes of Republicans dissatisfied with McKinley. It will accomplish nothing of importance for the country, because, as was pointed out in the article that troubles Mr. Shriver, the tariff that we maintain against the world in general prevents us from manufacturing goods at a cost that will enable us to compete in Brazil, or elsewhere, with British manufacturers. Furthermore, we do not believe that on this, or any other economic question, Mr. Blaine has any clear-cut convictions or well-defined policy.

Despite all this, we believe that Mr. Blaine is doing good service for the Free Trade cause. He is enraging intelligent Protectionists and dividing the Republican party. He is confessing to the world, and particularly to the American farmers, that the home market, about which the Protectionists have prated so long, is *not sufficient*. The moment they get this idea clearly in their heads they will demand access to markets that will really benefit them. Lastly, by turning public attention to the value and importance of trade, and demonstrating that tariffs are an obstruction to it, Mr. Blaine's policy tends to lead men to desire Free Trade for its own sake, and that is a condition of mind to which the arguments of the timid tariff reformer would never bring them.

Should Free Traders, because of this, accept Mr. Blaine as a leader and abandon their support of the Tariff Reformers? As well ask if they should accept the

leadership of Mr. McKinley, who, by making a protective tariff odious, has done more for Free Trade than Mr. Blaine is now doing. Our duty is to support those who are trying to reduce the tariff, but our danger is, first, the side-tracking of the issue of taxation, and, secondly, a narrow and cowardly policy that repudiates even a desire for Free Trade. Hence we have a right to rejoice that Mr. Blaine is not only keeping up popular interest in the question of the tariff, but that he is holding up foreign commerce before the eyes of our people as a good thing, greatly to be desired.

We fully agree with Mr. Shriver that "reciprocity" is founded on the same false conception of governmental functions that upholds "protection," but we defy any man to make an argument in favor of extending our commerce with Canada or Brazil without starting the question. "Why not extend it with peoples with whom trade will be still more profitable?" Children can find pleasure in looking through the plate-glass windows of cook shops and toy stores and "choosing," but men, under such circumstances, begin to devise means for getting at the "goodies" they covet. Mr. Blaine may induce our people to look through the plate-glass windows of Canada and Brazil and teach them that the goods there displayed can be obtained in exchange for something else of which we have too much, but he has no power to prevent men from also looking behind the barrier, artificial as plate-glass, that separates us from far richer countries, offering a greater quantity and variety of things that our people want, and having found out how to get what they want, they will get it, without saying "By your leave" to Mr. Blaine.

SHERMAN AND PORTER.—By a notable coincidence, the last great soldier and the last surviving great naval officer on the Union side in the Civil War, died last week. Admiral Porter the, first of the two to pass away, was unquestionably one of the two greatest naval commanders engaged in that struggle, while General Sherman, who died on Saturday, was one of the three Union Generals who held the highest place in popular estimation at the close of the war. He is probably generally regarded as second only to Grant among our most successful commanders, and there are capable military critics who rank him even above Grant. After his famous march from Atlanta to the Sea, Grant was himself ready to accord Sherman the first place and, in a letter published in Sherman's memoirs, Grant declared his willingness to take a subordinate place under the hem of that marvelous and audacious manoeuvre.

It is needless that THE STANDARD should dwell elaborately on the death of these two men. The daily press has published minute biographies of their lives, and editorially represented the American people as bowed with grief over their loss. As a matter of fact, the grief is not a tenth part so general or so deep as it would have been twenty years ago. The surviving soldiers of the war, and the people, not soldiers, whose hearts throbbed and palpitated with the hopes and fears of the great conflict, feel more or less keenly, according to their temperament, the passing away of these men whose movements they watched with painful anxiety, and whose many victories they hailed with delight.

But the number of such people grows constantly smaller and they constitute but a small proportion of the generation that is dominant to-day. To that generation the war is history, and even such men as Sherman and Porter are but historical personages further removed from their actual lives than the fictitious characters in the current novels. This is not a pleasant reflection for those who still keenly feel the loss of these heroes of that conflict, yet there is really no cause for regret, since the further we drift away from the wild

passions and the litter memories of the war the more completely will be accomplished that unification of the American people which was the object for which Sherman, Porter and thousands of other less illustrious but equally devoted heroes fought.

STILL AFTER THE WOOL GROWERS.—"The Standard American Merino Association" of sheep breeders held its annual meeting, at Rochester, on February 4. Though the association has a membership embracing breeders in Vermont, New York and Michigan, it appears from the report in the Union and Advertiser that there were but eight representatives present at this meeting. Mr. John M. Norton, of East Bloomfield, by invitation of the secretary, read a paper on "Our Protective Tariff in Its Relations to Sheep Breeding and Wool Growing," in which he handled without gloves the stupid notion that a protective tariff promotes the interest of wool growers and sheep breeders. Mr. Norton tried to induce those present who are "dyed-in-the-wool Protectionists" to discuss the very excellent arguments presented by his paper, but anything like discussion was out of the question. The secretary of the association, John P. Ray, made a brief address, rehashing the old Protection arguments, and followed it up by a set of resolutions endorsing the wool schedule of the McKinley bill, and asking Congress to place a tax of fifty cents per square yard on all goods manufactured in part from shoddy, whether foreign or domestic. These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the eight men present.

The Union and Advertiser reporter, after the meeting, met W. A. Cook, of Warsaw, Mich., formerly of this State, of whom he says he is probably the "father of merino sheep breeding" in this country, having begun the business in Vermont 1834 and been identified with it ever since. Mr. Cook told the reporter that he had been compelled to dispose of the flock of four thousand sheep because of iniquitous tariff legislation, and he declared that the talk of protection benefiting the sheep breeder was all "bosh." We cannot clearly make out from the report whether Mr. Cook was present as a member of the Merino Association or not. If so it seems a pity that he could not have been in the meeting to back up Mr. Norton's views and prevent the vote of the association from being unanimous in support of Secretary Ray's foolish resolutions.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN SHOPS.—"An act to regulate the employment of women and children in mercantile establishments, and to provide that the State Factory Inspectors shall enforce the same," has been framed by the Working Women's Society of 27 Clinton place, and introduced in the State Senate by Hon. George B. Sloan and in the Assembly by General Martin T. McMahon. The bill is substantially a transcript of the provisions of the present factory law and its purpose is to apply the regulations and restrictions imposed by that act to mercantile establishments. It provides that no person under eighteen years of age and no woman shall work in any such establishment more than sixty hours in any one week, and that no one under eighteen and no woman under twenty-one shall work there before 6 in the morning, or after 9 at night. Exceptions to this rule are made for the Christmas holiday season. The bill also prohibits the employment of any child under fourteen years of age in any mercantile establishment in this State. Provisions are made for insuring proper sanitary arrangements and a due regard for decency, requiring that seats be provided for women, that sufficient time be allowed for meals, etc.

Such a law applicable to factories is already on the statute book, but it is largely a dead letter. This is not

to be wondered at, since, at the recent hearing before a Senate Committee of the friends of the new bill, Chief Inspector Connolly, appointed under the Factory act, openly confessed that he had habitually permitted that law to be violated. Mr. Connolly said that there were many cases in which it is absolutely necessary that children under fourteen years of age shall work for the support of themselves and others, and that when convinced of this he did not attempt to enforce the law. After this unblushing confession, which demands his impeachment, Mr. Connolly asked that, in case the new bill shall be passed, it shall be so amended as to give him discretionary power as to its enforcement. Mr. Connolly's conception of the respective duties of the law-making power and of officers charged with the enforcement of law are, to say the least, remarkable.

The new bill is endorsed by the Knights of Labor, numerous societies of working men and working women, the Woman's Christian Union and many other organizations, and there are certainly as good reasons for passing it as can be advanced in favor of the maintenance of the Factory act on the statute book. None of this paternal and socialistic legislation is more than palliative, and it is not certain that it even palliates existing hardships. It utterly fails to go to the root of the matter, and does serve to satisfy uneasy consciences and create false hopes among the victims of the existing system. Nevertheless, such enactments are prompted by humane sentiments, and until we are closer to the righting of the wrong that calls them forth **THE STANDARD** has no disposition to throw needless obstacles in the way of palliative legislation.

THE DEATH OF JAMES REDPATH.—Few men have crowded into less than sixty years of life so much of excited activity as James Redpath, who died at St. Luke's Hospital, in this city, on February 10. He was born of a Scotch father and English mother at Berwick-on-Tweed in 1833. He came to this country with his parents, who settled in Michigan in 1848. He began life as a printer, and at the age of eighteen, like many others, he went from the case to the reporter's desk. He was an ardent abolitionist, took an active part in the exciting Kansas troubles of 1855-56, and became there the friend and confidant of John Brown, whose Virginia raid he approved and defended. Mr. Redpath was an ardent Republican from the birth of the party until 1886, when he actively supported Henry George in the Mayoralty campaign in this city, and he openly renounced Republicanism in the campaign in the following year, when Mr. George was a candidate for Secretary of State. After the split caused by the attempt of Dr. McGlynn and others to form a national united labor party for the express purpose of aiding the Republicans in 1888, Mr. Redpath adhered to Dr. McGlynn and was chosen vice-president of the Anti-Poverty Society, a position that we believe he held up to the time of his death.

Mr. Redpath was an ardent friend of Irish Home Rule, and was closely identified with the Irish agitators in Ireland and in this country. He organized the famous Redpath Lyceum Bureau, and was, until stricken with paralysis about three years ago, one of the editors of the North American Review. He was always a radical in opinions and he was an energetic and restless agitator in behalf of his beliefs up to the time that he was stricken with paralysis. Since that he has been in very poor health, though his wonderful energy enabled him to make a tour as a correspondent through Ireland, and he was at the time he was run down by a street car, two weeks ago, employed in the editorial rooms of Belford's Magazine. For several years Mr. Redpath has appeared so bent and broken

that he seemed to be a man well on in the seventies, and there was a general expression of amazement among the many friends who mourn his death when the newspaper obituaries showed that he was less than sixty. The feeling is general that it was little less than marvellous that any man should have crowded so many events into less than forty years of adult life. Despite his stormy public career, James Redpath was a man of gentle temper and urbane manners who was sincerely loved by a host of friends.

THE CENSUS INQUIRY.—We know of no good reason why a legislative committee in this State should not investigate the accuracy of the United States census of New York. The Legislature is expected to base the redistricting of the State for congressional elections on that census. Official protests against its accuracy have been made, and it is justly open to suspicion. Yet Mr. Murray, who managed the taking of the census here, has flatly refused to answer questions put to him by a legislative committee, and in support of his refusal has produced a letter from Robert P. Porter, Commissioner of the Census, saying that while the census may "be investigated by any properly constituted authority," that Mr. Murray is "instructed not to answer any questions or produce any papers" touching his "official action as supervisor of the census." We sincerely hope that this matter will be pressed and the case tested. If centralization has made such rapid strides that an understrapper of the Federal Government can thus defy the State of New York, it is time that the people knew it with a view to amending the Constitution so as to restore the rights that the States have inadvertently lost.

QUAY'S DENIAL.—Senator M. S. Quay, of Pennsylvania, read a speech in the United States Senate on Monday, in which he denied all the charges of dishonesty made against him by various newspapers many months ago. He mentions one or two witnesses who, he says, will support his denial of some of the minor charges, but he seems to expect the country to accept his denial of the main charge without the support of any evidence. This is the charge that he used public funds for his private speculations, and on one occasion would have become a bankrupt defaulter if Senator Cameron had not come to his assistance. If this is all that Mr. Quay has to say after his prolonged silence it is remarkable that he said anything. A plea of "not guilty" is never accepted as conclusive in a criminal prosecution. Mr. Quay must back up his denial with evidence, and a great deal of it, before he can expect the country to accept it.

THE NEWARK RIOT.—Of course there is no excuse for the attack by a mob on the thread mills at Newark. Popular sentiment in this country will never tolerate the system of settling economic problems by smashing windows, and there is happily very little disposition amongst Americans to resort to such a course. The incident at Newark, however, admirably illustrates the absurdity of the protection humbug. These Clarks are Englishmen, who came over here to obtain the benefits of our protective tariff, which enabled them to sell goods to our people at a higher rate than they could have obtained while manufacturing such goods in England. They brought with them most of the workmen that they employ, and as these people, after a long residence in this country, have shown a disposition to demand better wages, the Clarks have imported people from Canada and elsewhere to take their places, and are keeping these immigrants housed in their mills for fear the people they have displaced will mob them. The police are bound to pro-

tect the Clarks from mob violence, but if there were any justice in our laws all such men, who have assisted in obtaining tariff legislation on the pretence that the taxation of commodities was designed by them for the benefit of labor, would be sent to jail for obtaining money under false pretences.

McKINLEY FOR GOVERNOR.—At the recent annual meeting of the Ohio League of Republican clubs, which took place in Toledo on February 12, Major McKinley took occasion to declare his continued devotion to the doctrines, the embodiment of which in a law, deprived him of his seat in Congress and his party of power. This seemed pleasing to the young men. A despatch to the Press, of this city, declares that it was "a McKinley day from start to finish," and foreshadowed Major McKinley's nomination as the Republican candidate for Governor next Fall. We hope the Press is right. It is highly important that the country shall not, by any oversight or diversion of interest, forget for one moment McKinley and his bill.

BRIBERY IN CAUCUSES.—Assemblyman Woodbury, of Chataqua County, has introduced at Albany an amendment to the "Corrupt Practices Act" of 1890, making its provisions apply to the expenditure of money by candidates at party caucuses and conventions. There is no doubt that there is a large expenditure of money corruptly at these gatherings, but why does Mr. Woodbury wish to apply the present law to such practices? Does he not know that the existing law is a dead failure? It only requires that the candidate shall swear to what he contributed, individually, whereas the very essence of any effective law is to require a statement of all expenditures made in behalf of a candidate's election by any of his accepted agents. If Mr. Woodbury wants to effect a reform he had better go to work on the existing law to bring about its improvement.

FOR ONCE THE PRESS IS RIGHT.—The New York Press refers to the incident recently commented upon in THE STANDARD, in which a man named Sanford, after he could no longer escape paying a fair tax on a vacant lot in New Haven, proceeded to erect a fine building on it, because he could no longer afford to let it lie idle and pay taxes upon it. The Press commends this incident to the consideration of the New York tax department and urges it to adopt the plan of the Bridgeport assessors. It says: "There is utter disproportion between the listed values of unimproved and improved property on Manhattan Island, to the disadvantage of the owners of that which is improved. The owners of the unimproved property are largely speculators, while the owners of improved property are investors and pay double because of the evasion of the others." It is really surprising that a paper so hopelessly wrong on the question of federal taxes should approximate so closely to correct ideas when considering local taxes.

KANSAS RAILWAY BILL.—The Railroad Committee of the Kansas House of Representatives has prepared a bill providing for the two-cent passenger rate and making the Railway Board elective by the people. The term of office of the present board expires on the 1st of April next, so such a bill, if passed, would go into effect almost immediately. It vests in the Railroad Board the control of the express, telegraph and telephone companies, and of all persons or combinations doing business as common carriers. The board shall have free access to the books of all such companies and be empowered to obtain information from any other source. Throwing obstacles in the way of obtaining

such information is made punishable by a fine of \$1,000. The proposal is one of the most important brought forward by the farmers, but it proceeds on the lines of governmental interference with companies and individuals whose rights to the private ownership of public franchises it tacitly admits, and therefore, does not, we believe, present the true solution of the railway and telegraph problems. Nevertheless, it is one of the efforts to secure a relief from intolerable burdens that may promote the success of the true and final reform by demonstrating the inefficiency of half-way measures.

THE DIRECT TAX BILL.—There is some good, apparently, even in Republican extravagance. It appears that the exhaustion of the money in the treasury has so far alarmed the Republican bosses that they hesitate about carrying through a scheme to revive the bill to restore to various claimants seventeen million dollars collected by the United States Government through direct taxation, during the war. This is a bare-faced job which has no warrant except the greed of a lot of adventurers and the disposition, on the part of the protectionists, to get rid of an important precedent in behalf of direct taxation.

AN EMPTY TREASURY.—It is easier to handle a surplus than a deficit was the one notable utterance of Fred Grant during his brief and preposterous intrusion into the domain of politics. If this be true the Republican party cannot long postpone a difficult task. On Wednesday of last week the Acting Secretary of the Treasury issued warrants for the payment of \$1,000,000 on account of \$30,000,000 due for pensions during the quarter ending March 4. The payment of the whole sum would exhaust the cash balance in the Treasury were it not for the probability that receipts will be \$10,000,000 in excess of all other expenditures during the next two weeks. This is a pretty close shave, and there is little if any doubt that there will be a large deficit before the end of the present administration.

TARIFF PETTY LARCENY.—About as mean a dodge as ever was practiced by a bunco steerer is that of the customs' officers at this port, by which they practically have nullified the provision of the new tariff law that admits raw hides without duty. It seems that a number of calf and goat hides, imported for the purposes of making leather, have hair on them, and, as the woolen men had managed to get hair included in some fashion with wool and subjected to a duty, the appraisers have decided that these skins with the hair on are subject to a provision in the new tariff bill, which requires that wool on skins shall pay the same duty as other wool. The collection of tariff duties appears to dispose men to rob their fellow men even when they have no personal interest in the proceeds of the theft.

TROUBLE IN TORONTO.—There is a "bitter cry" not merely from the laboring poor of London but from those of Toronto, Canada. Last week a large body of unemployed men marched through the streets of the city bearing a black flag on which was inscribed the words "Work or Bread." They interviewed the Mayor and threatened that there would be violence unless something was done to relieve their distress. James Lawler, one of their leaders, said that what they wanted was bread, not charity, and he declared to the Mayor "We have the worst landlords in Toronto that ever put foot in a boot of leather." Several of those who spoke declared that they were about to be evicted for non-payment of rent at a time when they could not obtain sufficient employment to earn bread alone. Noth-

ing seems to have come out of the threatened violence, but the incident goes to show that protection does not do much for labor in Canada.

SCREENING RASCALS.—Ex-State Treasurer Noland, of Missouri, is under indictment for stealing nearly forty thousand dollars of the State's funds. It is generally believed that he lost the money at poker, and that a considerable portion of it was won by men who are prominent in politics. The Republicans in the Missouri Legislature recently attempted to bring about an investigation, hoping, of course, that it would prove injurious to their political opponents. The Democrats in the Legislature voted down the proposal. Therein they made a mistake. The sooner the Democratic party gets rid of the men who play poker with a view to dividing amongst themselves the public funds the better it will be for it, and the less trouble there will be in bringing it to a comprehension of important questions of principle. There is hardly a State where either party would not be improved by sending a considerable portion of its so-called leaders to the penitentiary.

SINGLE TAX AT THE ROUND TABLE.—The Round Table Club of Boston, a very select association of Boston literati and literatæ, in which the latter predominate, gathered on Thursday evening last in the spacious parlors of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Wheelwright on Chestnut street, to listen to the Single Tax debate in which William Lloyd Garrison and Edward Atkinson took the prominent parts. Of course, as both these gentlemen are Bostonians, they were heard with a natural desire on the part of the audience, to be convinced that, although diametrically opposed to each other, they must have been equally right. It was, therefore, with much regret that the conclusion was forced upon them that the arguments of Mr. Atkinson, ably presented as they were, fell far short of the mark, while Mr. Garrison continually scored his points in hitting the Single Tax bull's eye. We had asked a talented and accomplished young lady who was to be one of the party, to favor us with a *resume* of the debate, but she has informed us that gatherings of this kind are held to be sacred to privacy, and that the *ignobile vulgus* of the newspaper fraternity have no place either in attending a meeting, or the right to ask for a report of it from others. This much, however, she has vouchsafed to us in a general way, and then she proceeds to discourse delightfully on the style of the ladies' dresses, as she was not debarred from this by the rules of the club. We regret that THE STANDARD is not a periodical devoted to the fashions, so that we can give place to her very entertaining letter.

SILVER AND TARIFF.—Mr. Thomas G. Shearman has promised to write for THE STANDARD a series of short articles on the silver question as related to the Tariff question. He does not intend to discuss free coinage as an independent question, but will deal with it only as an issue threatening to come in collision with Free Trade and the Single Tax. Readers of THE STANDARD will look forward with great interest for these papers, the first of which we hope to present next week.

NO POSTAL TELEGRAPH.—The House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, at Washington, of which General Bingham, of Philadelphia, is chairman, has prevented any consideration of the Postal Telegraph bill at this session of Congress by laying the measure on the table by a vote of six to five. The bill was drawn in accord with the plan of Postmaster General Wanamaker, and was a very timid step toward the absorption of this means of mail communication by

the Post Office Department. The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Record intimates plainly that the measure was smothered at the direct request of Jay Gould. It certainly was one that Mr. Gould had an interest in defeating, and General Bingham is a man who is not above the suspicion of yielding to improper influences.

NO BRIGHT PROTECTIONISTS.—At Toledo, Ohio, Mr. Robert P. Porter, of New York, replied to the toast "The Press," and he lamented "the great lack of bright paragraph work on the protection side of the Tariff question." This is certainly cruel. Mr. Porter as Census Commissioner, has already plainly demonstrated either that he cannot or will not employ men who can count properly, but as editor of the Press he ought not to admit his inability to obtain bright paragraphers. It is unfair to the young men whom he deputizes to perform that portion of his multifarious duties.

SHOP OR HOUSE?

Mr. Cranford, writing recently to THE STANDARD, seems to think that the ladders on which we poor mortals are obliged to climb for distinction, are like the ladder Jacob saw let down from Heaven, its rounds starting from the top, where he would place us all at once. Unfortunately for his theory, there is necessarily a bottom to society, and various grades of it from that upwards.

The great teacher of our religion recognized this condition when he said that the servant was not greater than his lord, intimating very conclusively that he was by no means so great, and when he descended to the most menial of services as an illustration that it could be performed without any loss of dignity or self-respect.

Mr. Cranford proceeds to knock out the bottom rounds of the ladder by saying, "Menial service—the infinitely mean and degrading position implied by the words lackey and servant—are doomed," and then paradoxically continues, "But men shall cook and scrub and still keep their self-respect and honest pride." Most of us can cook and scrub, but we cannot all do this sort of work to our own satisfaction. It is cheaper for us to employ others, who happen for the present to be a little lower down on the ladder, to do it for us, and they are very glad to get the work. "Every girl, madam, as well as boy, who is born in America to-day, is apt to feel exactly as you would were you asked to work in a menial position." Fortunately for our philosopher, as well as for all of us, he is greatly mistaken. If every girl or boy had risen as high on the ladder as the lady he addresses, and was then obliged to descend, this assertion might be correct, although there are many instances of coming down with a good grace.

But, if I understand this somewhat contradictory writer, he is willing to admit that the world cannot get on without work, but he desires that the servant and his lord should be on terms of perfect equality. He will allow that, so far as personal comfort is concerned, it is far easier for a shop-girl who gets \$5 per week for standing behind a counter all day and paying her own board, to take service in a family at the same wages where the labor will be much less and where she will be comfortably lodged and abundantly fed. But when this offer is made to her he counsels her to reply: "No, thanks, life is not worth so much. Shop for me if I drop at it." He should further recommend her to take refuge in her Bible and derive comfort from the text, "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." And then he goes on to compare the character of the shop-keeping firm with that of a householder. "The firm may be driving and pitiless, but its attitude toward clerk and shop-girl is a human and democratic one with regard to the matter in question." Why so? Because in the shop the girl is not called "Mary" but "Miss Jones," and is called a *sales lady*? He would doubtless have Miss Jones sit at the family table of the householder, but there is no evidence that Miss Jones will be invited to the table of the shopkeeper. Again, in the household it would be a degradation to Miss Jones to be expected to say "Miss" to her employer's daughter. I do not know from what standpoint Mr. Cranford is writing. Has he ever been a servant himself? I have. I have been a servant and a master, and therefore can speak without prejudice of either condition.

In many respects society is like a ship. Whether we choose to recognize it or not, it has its grades like those on shipboard, and it must have its discipline. In this world we may all be said to have "signed the articles," that is, we have virtually put ourselves under bonds to conform to usage, and there is no debasement in that. When I was a sailor before the mast I endeavored to do my duty, and one part of it was to be obedient and respectful to my superiors, the captain and his officers. I always "put the handle to their names," and they never put any handle to mine. If on either side

this rule had been relaxed between the officers and crew, there would have been an end to discipline. "We sailors never thought ourselves humiliated by the practice, and when we got up the ladder ourselves we still adhered to the rule. I remember, however, an instance of an attempt to reform the "previous condition of servitude" on the sea after the theory of Mr. Cranford's method on the land.

It was that of a young skipper who had "come in at the cabin windows." He had graduated at Harvard, and made subsequently several voyages to India as supercargo. Then he thought himself qualified to take command of a ship. As a navigator he was qualified, but as a disciplinarian he was a lamentable failure. Soon after leaving port, on hearing the chief officer very emphatically reprimanding a sailor for not adding "Sir" to his reply to the question "How does she head?" the man curtly answering "E. S. E.," he said, "Don't use that language to the man. He has told you the course. That's enough." It was enough. It was reported to the rest of the crew and they at once "sized up" their commander. He was commander no longer. They were the commanders until the two mates and the boatswain sailed in among them and with brass knuckles, heavers and belaying pins laid them out and quelled a rising mutiny. After that they had the handles to their names, and the captain, although he never regained the respect of his crew, got on with them a great deal better when they were careful to say "Sir" to him as well as to the mates.

Of course such a scene as this would not have occurred in a household, but there is the same rule to be enforced there in a degree as on shipboard, if, for the benefit of all concerned, quiet and contentment are expected to obtain.

The rule of the house should be kindness without undue familiarity on the part of the mistress (I leave the husband out of account, because he is nobody,) and obedience without flunkeyism on the part of the servants. In the one case there should be nothing arbitrary and in the other there would be nothing degrading.

There is a touching scene in "The Heir-at-law" where the mistress and maid, in sympathy with each other's distress, the one without losing her dignity and the other without presumption, fold themselves in a mutual embrace, and when the mistress becomes too poor to employ the servant any longer, the girl, who has just contracted an eligible marriage, exclaims with a pathos that such finished art alone can make realistic: "When I am married, only let me come and work for you for nothing!"

The sea and the land both attest that

"Honor and shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

The Boston Post recently, in recording the death of Captain Barstow, says:

He went from the fore-castle to the cabin, and in both these places preserved the instincts and tendencies of family pride and culture, which are now seldom found in association with seamanship.

And I have in my mind a dear old lady, now almost a nonagenarian, arrived at that sweet twilight which blends this life almost imperceptibly with that beyond the fading horizon of time. It is our delight in our own old age to sit by her side in her luxurious home surrounded by all that affection and wealth can bestow, to hear her talk about the "good old times," and tell her grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the days when she, our "Becky," carried us about in her arms.

New York City.

JOHN COBMAN.

SECRETARY BLAINE'S POLICY.

It goes against the grain to disagree with THE STANDARD, but your acceptance of Secretary Blaine's new policy—even though perhaps in a half sarcastic vein—as making toward our ends, really ought not to pass unchallenged. Reciprocity is *not* free trade—not even a mongrel imitation of it. It concedes in full the vicious principle of governmental interference, assuming to tell us how and where we shall exchange the products of our industry. Equally, with avowed protectionism, it involves all the blundering of sincere socialists in trying to adjust and balance natural advantages by legislation rather than by natural law, and admits all the trickery of insincere protectionists in the creation of artificial advantages. We may even suspect, and not without reason, that this latest move is only a device of the cunning Secretary of State to throw a tub to the whale and direct the growing sentiment in favor of commercial freedom into a dicker for delusive favors that will in no way injure the monopolies which have been established upon our protective tariff system.

For it is not merely in the retical consistency that Reciprocity—granting freedom to trade only where Congress and the State Department graciously permit—differs from real Free Trade, which simply tells the Government to keep its hands off and refrain from its pernicious meddling with business. The countries with whom reciprocity is sought furnish but few of the goods whose production is "protected" in this country and their free admission will no more break down the power of protected monopoly than did the abolition of tea and coffee duties. Nor will the proposed treaties avail much to expand our export trade, let us say of machinery,

while we enhance the price of iron by imposing a duty behind which owners of American iron mines are enabled to exact a higher price for their ores. If we want Brazilian or Canadian products we must still export our breadstuffs to Europe to get the credit with which to pay for them. Even the object lesson may be of little value, if we may judge from the small effect in the way of broadening popular ideas, that has been produced by the freedom of trade that we have enjoyed for a century within our own boundaries. Had it not been for this our people would have long since demanded Free Trade with all the world, and reciprocity may easily serve only to blind them to the extent of their continued slavery and reconcile them to its continuance—because they are not so badly off as they might be.

What misleads here so often is a failure to apprehend the true benefit to be secured by opening our ports. It is not so much that we will buy goods cheaper from abroad as that we will buy them cheaper at home. That domestic owners of natural sources of material, subjected to the competitive influence of foreign goods, will be compelled to abate some of the extra economic rent that they now collect in the increased prices of their product, and that the lowering of prices thereby will stimulate home industries by adding to the power of domestic consumption. Hardly a single Brazilian product can be cited that will help to this result and but little from Canada, barring lumber and coal; yet Reciprocity, as mapped out by the paternal hand of our rulers at Washington, offers us these phantasms and denies us the competition of English and Belgian iron, of British cotton goods and tin plates, of Chilean copper. It is such bread as this that we want, and not the stones of Para rubber or furs from Hudson Bay.

New York, February 11.

E. J. SHRIVER.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE THIRD PARTY IN KANSAS.

WINFIELD, Kansas, February 2, 1891.—I have read with interest some editorials in THE STANDARD on the subject of third parties. Now that our campaign in Kansas has finally closed with the defeat of Senator Ingalls, a little campaign history, although it might be called ancient history, may interest you. It has been a most peculiar campaign. The People's party was christened in this county, Cowley, in 1889. Dissatisfaction inside the Republican party was made manifest in 1886 by an attempt to throw off the domination of a boss and a county ring. Without going into details, which are local and probably not interesting to you, suffice it to say that the ill feeling engendered in that campaign culminated in 1889. After the Republican County Convention was held, a bolt of very large dimensions was apparent. A convention was called, to which everybody opposed to the Republican management was invited, without regard to previous party ties. This was a true People's movement: Democrats, Union Labor, disgusted Republicans, all took a part. Also for the first time the Alliance began to show its hand in a campaign.

The Republicans went into the campaign with the assurance of men who had carried the county by two thousand the year before. There was steady and persistent effort on the part of the long suffering Democrats and Union Labor people. There was the feeling of the bolters that at last the time had come to get even with the gang. Election night the returns showed the entire disappearance of the Republican majority and the election of the People's ticket by eight hundred majority. Then the men who had carried the county began to look at each other and ask: "Why cannot we carry the State?" It was known that there were large numbers of dissatisfied Republicans in the State who were not ready to vote the Democratic ticket. Generally the Democrats treated the new party kindly. Mr. Clover was nominated for Congress in the Third District, with the implied promise of the Democrats to support him because of his Free Trade views. A State Convention was held and the results were not satisfactory to Democrats. The Democrats next held a State Convention, nominated a ticket, and we now have a Republican Governor. Of the seven Congressional districts four had no Democratic candidates at election time. The other three had each a three-cornered fight, and two Republican Congressmen were elected from the three districts, leaving John Davis as the only opposition Congressman elected in a three-cornered fight.

To sum up, the Democratic and People's party have demonstrated that joined together they are invincible. Separated they each possess sufficient strength to defeat the other, but neither one has sufficient strength to defeat the Republican party alone. Whenever the People's party would allow it the Democrats helped. When stepped on too hard they kicked. Very little satisfied them; just a touch of very ordinary common politeness, which they did not get in all cases.

What shape the campaign will take in 1892 it is impossible to forecast now. High Protection is dead in Kansas. Single Tax ideas prevail to some extent and the change toward Free Trade among the Alliance is a radical one. This has been another peculiarity of the campaign. The Alliance leaders insisted that the tariff was a side

issue and proposed to ignore it. Still as every one of the orators turned loose and "cussed" the McKinley bill, the question was not so much ignored after all.

QUINCY A. GLASS.

THE SINGLE TAX IN SCOTLAND.

GLASGOW, January 27, 1891.—The Henry George Institute has had, up to date, a very successful season, notwithstanding the fact that very many of our Glasgow churches and evangelistic societies—stimulated, no doubt, by the example and success of the Institute—have taken to the discussion of "Social Problems" at "special Sunday evening services." They are as yet principally engaged in pointing to the social disease, but this is a decided step forward in the right direction, for the next thing to the removal of an evil is to be sure that there is one to remove. The churches—God forgive them—have too long emulated the example of the "Priest and the Levite," and passed by on the other side, leaving suffering humanity to suffer on—a bleeding victim of as cruel and unchristianlike a social condition as is possible to conceive of. But there is hope for the churches even at the eleventh hour, and if they will only abandon the religion of creed and embrace the religion of conduct they will ultimately achieve as prominent and pleasing a place in the history of mankind as the "Good Samaritan" himself.

We are glad to see by THE STANDARD that Mr. George is improving. His illness has been taken much notice of by the Scotch press generally, and has excited a great deal of sympathy throughout all reforming circles. Since his—Mr. George's—last visit here on his way home from Australia we have been enabled to do much good work. Petition sheets have been issued by the Scottish Land Restoration Federation, praying Parliament "to relieve industry of the burden of taxation and to raise all taxes for national and local purposes by a Single Tax upon the value of all land, whether used or let, or held idle by the holder." They have met with a magnificent reception, being readily signed at all our public meetings, especially at Liberal Associations. Three new Single Tax associations have been formed: two in country towns and one in the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow. They are all actively engaged in prosecuting a vigorous and most successful campaign.

There is also a big demand for Single Tax men as lecturers at Liberal associations, Irish national leagues, literary associations, etc. A gentleman who lately visited Scotland has expressed himself regarding our position in the following manner: "You Scotch Single Tax men hold the field here. Wherever I go I find Single Tax men to the front, no matter under whose auspices"—and there are many such agencies here—"a lecture is being delivered, if there is an opportunity for criticism at all the Single Tax advocate is sure to be there, with his clear, convincing and irrefutable arguments. I always knew you had a good footing here, but I never imagined that you had so thoroughly permeated Scotch political and social thought with your principles." Such testimony from a stranger who made it his business, during a visit which lasted about two months, to visit all the centres of discussion on political and social subjects, speaks for itself.

We are looking forward to engaging in an outdoor propaganda campaign during the coming Summer months. If we had tracts and pamphlets for distribution we could dispose of any quantity to great advantage.

JOHN PAUL.

OFFICIAL ACTION IN GLASGOW.

At a meeting of the Glasgow Police Commissioners held on Monday, January 19, a report was received from the special committee appointed to consider the incidence of local taxation. The report had been prepared by a sub-committee consisting of Peter Burt, Samuel Chisholm and J. P. McPhum, but it was accepted by the whole committee, and was as follows:

Your sub-committee having considered the remit to them, expressed their approval of the principle of making land values a basis of taxation, and indicate the following as a method by which this principle might be carried out, viz.: That all proprietors, when making the statutory return to the assessor under the Lands Valuation Acts, should, in addition to the details at present required, also furnish, in two separate columns, the following additional information:—(1) The number of square yards of ground of which he is the proprietor; and (2) the annual value of such ground, calculated at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum upon what he may fix as the price thereof, as between a willing seller and a willing buyer. In the event of the assessor being dissatisfied with the value as so stated, he shall have power to increase the same, having regard to the nature and situation of the particular subject—the proprietor to have a right of appeal against the assessor's valuation. After the valuation roll is made up, the proprietors shall then be assessed *pro rata* for all local rates and taxes payable by them upon the said annual value, as ascertained and entered in the valuation roll in manner before indicated, instead of upon the annual rental of the property as at present. Thereafter, when the proprietor comes to pay the feu-duty or ground annual (if any) applicable to the ground, he shall be entitled to deduct therefrom the same proportion of the local rates and taxes paid by him as the said feu-duty or ground annual bears to the total assessable annual value as entered in the valuation roll.

The special committee in making this report recommended that a copy of it should be sent to all assessing bodies in Scotland with a

request that they co-operate with the Police Commissioners of Glasgow in petitioning Parliament in favor of legislation on the lines indicated in the report. By request of one of the members the discussion of the subject was delayed for a fortnight.

EQUALIZATION OF TAXATION.

Mr. E. J. Shriver, in THE STANDARD of January 21, discusses the question of the equalization of taxation, raised in my letter "A Challenge," published in THE STANDARD of December 31, 1890. I find fault with his article, inasmuch as he designates the method proposed by me as a "snap-shot assessment," without clearly stating what my plan is. Illinois cities are much embarrassed by the operation of the constitutional and statute laws of the State, which require that all assessments shall be at full cash value, and that cities shall not incur indebtedness of more than 5 per cent., or tax annually more than 2 per cent. of assessments. The assessors disobey the law, and only list at one-quarter or one-fifth of value, and therefore cities are in many cases unable to raise sufficient revenue for their actual necessities. My plan only modified the present Illinois method by substituting as a starting point for equalizing boards *population* instead of *assessments*. Thus, if a county had 25,000 population and the State 1,000,000, that county's fraction of the entire State tax to be raised would be 25000/1000000, but this would be only the first scale for equalizing boards to work from; they would then proceed to raise and lower the numerators of the fractions, as in their judgment the distribution of wealth would justify, the same as they do now, and from the very nature of things the result of the distribution would be substantially the same as under the present system. Assessments would immediately bound upward, for assessors would have no motive for keeping them down, and would only endeavor to make an equitable distribution between the individuals of their respective districts, and cities would be relieved from their present disagreeable condition of poverty.

The objections to my plan are that State and county boards of equalization would have to be retained, and it would give local governments an opportunity for extravagance and large expenditures that they do not now possess. Mr. Shriver, in substance, proposes to distribute taxes between subdivisions, in the ratio of taxes actually paid by them in the previous year. The element of competition, which is the factor that must be eliminated, would still remain, for the smaller the amount raised in any year the less would be the State and county quota in the following. Cities would endeavor to raise money by other means than direct taxation. The temptation would be strong to hide their real revenues, by an increase of licenses and of the rates of water works, gas, electric and other public plants, and falsify the returns by those methods so familiar in the days of the income tax.

Rockford, Ill.

H. N. STARR.

VICTORY.

He who, believing, strongly lays his hand
Unto the work that waits for him to do,
Though men should cavil, measures prove untrue,
Friends write their trusted promises in sand,
And failure mock him with its threatening brand,
Still in the end he, fearless, shall pursue
Till crack o' doom, will find a power which few
Or none, with cause less righteous, may command.
For conquest is not built on the defeat
Of any man whose aim is human good,
Who fights for justice has already won
Before no show of loss shall he retreat,
However crossed, maligned, misunderstood,
He knows but triumph in the work well done.

A. L. M.

IS THE MCKINLEY ACT UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

Another large importing firm has followed in the wake of Marshall Fields & Co., of Chicago. H. H. Sternback & Co., of this city, have brought suit in the United States Circuit Court of this city to recover certain duties paid by them on an importation of colored cotton goods, which arrived here on October 7 last. The ground of contention is the same as that made by the Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis firms—first, that the former tariff act was not and never has been repealed by the alleged tariff act of 1890 or any other act; second, that the bill passed by the Senate and House was not the same one that President Harrison signed, and that the bill which passed these houses never has been either signed or approved by the President; third, that the act is unconstitutional by reason of its third section, under which the President was empowered to continue, suspend, and impose duties, a power which, it was asserted by counsel, is vested in Congress alone, and cannot be delegated to the President; fourth, that the section allowing bounties on sugar and other commodities renders the whole act null and void. Judge Lacombe heard the case and has reserved his decision.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A story that comes from Chicago has a moral in it as long as the average man's arm. A bank went down in 1872 or '73—couldn't meet its obligations. A receiver took charge of its affairs. Among the assets was a deed to a lot of land, at that time considered worthless. Seventeen or eighteen years pass, during which bank stockholders and others had credited what the bank owed them to profit and loss. Suddenly, in the year of our Lord 1891, month of February, the receiver is astonished to receive an offer of \$1,000,000 for this one time "worthless" land. He accepts the offer too quick, goes over the old accounts, and declares a dividend of *one hundred and seventy-one per cent.* to the creditors of the busted bank. There is much joy over this happy event. There is a moral in this which the initiated can easily see.

John D. Blakeney, who had been nominated by the Democrats of Binghamton for Assessor, was defeated by his Republican opponent. The Democrats elected their mayor, but some of them evidently voted against Mr. Blakeney because he was a Single Taxer.

Here is news that will interest consumers of sugar—and in that class is included nearly every human being in the United States. Granulated sugar has been selling for a long time at about 6½ cents a pound, wholesale. Last Wednesday, according to the New York Herald, 300,000 barrels were placed by the sugar trusts among the wholesale trade at 4½ cents for March delivery and 4½ cents for April. This means that—to those people who buy their sugar by the quarter's worth—that next month they will get about four and a half pounds of sugar for a quarter where they now get only three and a half pounds. The Government bounty of 1½ cents on sugar goes into effect July 1, and the reduction on its price is in anticipation of that event.

A petition has been presented to the Massachusetts Legislature praying for a liberal bounty upon the head of every woodchuck killed in that State.

Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, Mich., is a brave man. The railroad property of his city is exempt from taxation, and he has made up his mind that if he can bring it about they shall pay taxes. The railroads hold property in Detroit valued at least at \$35,000,000. Mr. Pingree sent a communication to the City Council at its last meeting, asking them to call a public meeting, at which he would open a campaign which would have for its object the placing of the exempted railroad property on the tax list. He will have a hard fight on his hands. The railroad people will mass against him, but he will have a strong backing—the people. The struggle will be watched with keen interest by tax reformers all over the Union. Meantime our Single Tax friends in Michigan will stand in the breach with Mayor Pingree.

The Stove Mounters Union of Quincy has issued a call to the unions of the trade throughout North America to come together and organize an international union. All correspondence regarding the matter is to be addressed to H. P. Oberling, 521 South Tenth street, Quincy, Ill.

A young man from Texas went out West to secure possession of some of that "free land," said to be so abundant out there. He gave up the search and returned home. The thing that immediately caused him to abandon his quest was the discovery of a boarded-up shanty, built by some claimant, bearing the following inscription:

Fore mile from a naylor. Sixteen mile from a post-office. Twenty-five mile from a railroad. A hundred and atey from timber. Two hundred and fifty feet from water. There's no place like home. We've gone East to spend the summer with my wife's folks.

How much good the opening of new public land does for actual settlers is illustrated by a story which comes from Wisconsin. On the Saturday preceding Christmas large tracts of valuable pine lands were thrown open to settlers by the Government. A line of claimants stood in the cold for forty-eight hours, and had their meals brought to them, while they postponed sleep, in order to secure title. The militia was called out to preserve order. After the rush was over stories were told to prove that officials gave their friends and relatives the preference in the allotment of lands. Now it is claimed that, upon tracts where the pine is most plentiful, there are anywhere from a dozen to twenty claimants, and that the squatters are generally the employees of wealthy lumbermen, who are working upon salary and who in some cases are going to get a small bonus for securing a title to the pine from which the bosses will get the lion's share of the profit. There are thirty to forty former employees of ex-Congressman McCord, who have become squatters. Nearly one hundred employes of Brown Brothers are occupying similar positions. McCord's brother, from Chippewa

Falls, is credited with a crew of half a hundred title earners. Most of these men are single people, who can make their home upon their claims and at the same time continue in the employ of the speculators, who will eventually market the land.

It is said that there are 80,000 unemployed men in Chicago. Destitution, and even actual starvation, have been so common that they have forced themselves upon public attention.

There are many people fond of asserting that the Indians once owned this country. This is true if white men now own it, but it is not true to those who deny the title of men to land that they will not use. In the course of the article on Indian questions Rev. A. H. Quint, D. D., a regular contributor to the *Congregationalist*, thus deals with this question:

Nor do I for a moment admit that the Indians once owned this whole country. It is absurd. Careful estimates have placed the number of Indians within our present limits when the whites came here at less than 300,000 men, women and children. To say that these had the exclusive right to more than 3,000,000 square miles is ridiculous. They had a fair title to what they occupied and no more. Occasionally chasing a deer or a squirrel through the forests, or hunting another Indian for his scalp, gave them no more title to those forests than catching codfish in the Atlantic gave an ocean title to the fishing skippers. The world had a right to unused lands. When Sir Edmund Andros said that a title acquired from the Indians of unoccupied lands, nominally conveyed to sharp whites, was no better than the scratch of a bear's paw, he was very near the truth.

How much better than the scratch of a bear's paw is the title of white men to lands that they do not occupy or use, and which they prevent anybody else from occupying or using? Perhaps Dr. Quint would like to discuss this question in the columns of the *Congregationalist*.

The Commercial Advertiser says that Charles A. Dana is one of a pack of "mangy curs" who are snapping at Mr. Cleveland's heels. So long as their disease is mange and not hydrophobia they will not hurt Mr. Cleveland.

The miners of Clearfield and Centre Counties, Pennsylvania, expect to go on strike on March 5, as the agreement made last year with their employees expires on that date, and they think it will not be renewed. If they go on strike they intend to make it hot for any other miners who take their places. The men now at work are arming themselves, and they have given notice that they will deal out leaden pills to any persons who come fooling round the mines if a strike is ordered.

Half a million dollars in presents at the Shepard-Schiefflin wedding! Two million dollars in presents at the Astor-Willing wedding! And yet we are told that "willful waste makes woful want." Half a million on one side, privation and suffering on the other. Two millions on one side, destitution, death and worse on the other. This is a great world, my masters!

Some idea of how they assess lands out West may be gathered from the following: In Saline County, Nebraska, the total amount of real estate mortgages is \$2,187,000. The assessed valuation of all the real estate in the county, mortgaged and not mortgaged, is only \$1,660,000. Assuming the mortgages to equal 50 per cent. of the value of property mortgaged, and that one-third of the property is not mortgaged, we would have a true valuation for the county of \$6,540,000. This is a very low estimate. The assessed valuation, if this is correct, is therefore, only 25 per cent. of the true value.

Rioting was going on nearly all last week at the highly protected Clark Thread Mills, at Kearny, N. J. The militia was called out, and the majesty of the law otherwise invoked. The working men and women, for whom the late protective bill was, presumably, made law, will lose their strike and go back to work at reduced wages.

The Boston Globe desires to remind the people of the United States that twenty-seven foreigners own an area of land in this country larger than the whole of Ireland; that our Government has given 175,000,000 acres of land to railroad corporations; that a land syndicate in Texas got 3,000,000 acres of land for building the State capitol at Austin; and that, as a consequence, our national domain is not as "boundless" as it was.

Enthusiastic Single Taxer—I am glad you see the truth of my arguments at last! I am glad you see that the tariff is a tax, that protection is robbery, that the poor bear the burden of taxation! I am glad you see how our abominable laws grind the faces of the poor! Thank God that at last you see the injustice.

Young Averidge—Oh! nonsense! The poor are all right. There ain't any poor. Besides, if a man's poor it's his own fault.

E. S. T.—Then what has turned you against the McKinley Bill?

Y. A.—Ten cent cigars are fifteen cents.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

THE FARMER'S CHANGED CONDITION.

Professor Rodney Welsh, in the February Forum, tells us all about the changed condition of the farmer. He pictures the New England farmer of fifty years ago as a man independent of the world, because he had within his own family and possessions nearly all the necessities of life. With the advent of machinery came a change. The farmer ceased to make on the farm the things he needed for the comfort of life. Farming became a commercial pursuit, as we see it on great ranches in the West. The farmer produces a few great staples for the supply of the markets, and buys with cash, and does not obtain by barter the various articles needed in the household. But the farmer is usually in debt, and he always has a mortgage.

Professor Welsh thinks the farmer's condition rather the worse because of improved methods of farming, perhaps, because the changes have come before the naturally conservative farmers were ready for them. Rural life is no longer preferable to urban life as it once was. In earlier days country society was as refined and cultured as that of the towns. Nearly all college students came from the country, and the graduates returned home to live on farms. Statesmen were of rural birth and training. Farm houses suggested comfort and men took pride in well-kept farms and homes.

Once in Roman history the cities became more attractive than the country and wealthy farmers removed to Rome. The effect upon the rural population was disastrous. The most cultivated class was removed from society, and those that remained behind paid rent to maintain urban residents in luxury. The difference between urban and rural people became more and more marked, and the gamins of Rome instantly knew a countryman upon the streets. The same thing was repeated in France just before the revolution, and such conditions hastened that convulsion. The taxes collected from French farmers were used for the benefit of those that lived in the towns. "For a long time the rural population submitted to constantly increasing oppressions, but a day came when they rebelled, and in a week they righted the wrongs of many decades."

The migration from country to town in this country began near the close of the civil war, and it has included the most desirable part of the rural population. In Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa more farms have been deserted by their owners than in New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts. Eastern farmers leave the farms because they are unprofitable; Western farmers for the opposite reason, because they can live on the rents paid by tenants. Cities in parts of the West are made up, in considerable part, of retired farmers. Their farms are cut up into small holdings and rented to men of foreign birth. These absentee landlords take little interest in the public affairs of the region in which their farms lie. The land is worked as mines and quarries are to get the most out of them. The result of all this is to form a distinct peasant class, and in parts of the West this class speaks no English. The schools teach in a foreign tongue, and a foreign language is heard from the pulpit.

Farmers have lost their influence in the councils of State and nation. There are not enough farmers in Congress to make a respectable committee on agriculture. Ignorant of agricultural needs, Congress opens public lands long before they are really required, and the offer of free land attracts people from mechanical and other pursuits to farming. They compete with farmers long in the business and the result is disastrous. The rural districts have not shared with towns the improvement in the public service, the postal, for example. There should be a money order department at all post offices and free delivery in rural as well as urban districts. It is the Government's duty to preserve the diminishing class of country gentlemen. The founders of the Government never intended to foster absentee landlords and to create an ignorant rural peasantry.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

Jesse Seligman sets forth in the February North American Review, what he esteems the dangers of free coinage of silver. The first essentials of production and commerce are certainty and stability. Free silver coinage, he thinks, would destroy both. Certainty is best maintained by a monetary standard in conformity with that of the civilized world. Our surplus agricultural products are all exported to countries having a gold standard and paid for in that standard. If we have a silver standard our farmers are paid in silver, while prices for staples follow not only agricultural prices abroad, but the price of silver as well. The result is wider variations of price, together with an increase of the speculation deemed so injurious to producers. Prudent buyers in an uncertain market invest upon a wide margin, and this means lower prices to the producer. A standard different from that of the rest of the world would affect the vast mass of our imports and exports, and be an obstacle to trade.

Free coinage means a silver standard. It is proposed that the

Government shall pay \$1 for every 81 cents worth of silver presented at the mints. All the silver bullion in the country will flow to the mints, so will silver bullion from abroad; so will the product of the mines. The increase in the circulating medium will inflate prices and check exportation while it encourages importation. But the only way to pay for imports is by exports. If the exportation of ordinary commodities fails, we must take gold to right the balance of trade, and the result will be a drain of gold, a premium on the metal and a wild scramble to get it. The Government's vaults are drained of gold and the silver standard is upon us.

The result of such a change would be widespread bankruptcy. Merchants that import must pay in gold though they are paid in silver. Railroads pledged to pay interest in gold receive only silver for the transportation of freight and passengers. Prices of commodities rise quickly, wages rise slowly, and meanwhile the wage-earner suffers. Distrust comes; panic, hard times, stagnation. Farmers and wage-earners will suffer most if they have no surplus on which they can depend.

Mr. Seligman admits that our coinage is not satisfactory and apparently has hopes of a double standard. He makes the point that there is a difference in principle between free coinage of silver and the coinage of an amount fixed by the State. The depreciated silver coin issued in the latter case is like a convertible paper money, good for its face so long as people believe that it will be redeemed in gold. He believes that free coinage will bring upon the country the greatest strain it has ever known.

TARIFFS AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Edmund E. Sheppard, a Canadian, discusses in Belford's Magazine for February the McKinley Bill and its relation to imperial federation. Our abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Canada in 1867 brought about the confederation of the British North American provinces. Our late unfriendly tariff enactment, Mr. Sheppard is convinced, will bring about imperial federation. He warns us that tariffs must accompany such federation and that we may see a tariff of ten cents a bushel levied by Great Britain and her colonies against American wheat. Then the Dakota farmers will flock across the border to find better lands and avoid an unfriendly tariff. Mr. Sheppard points out that our exports to British possessions constantly increase, and that a policy of retaliatory tariffs on the part of the empire would be most disastrous to our farmers and manufacturers, however little it might affect our politicians.

Mr. Sheppard warns us that Canada cannot be driven into the union by adverse tariff legislation on our part. If ever the British provinces are to join us it will be when a free trade policy on our part shall have transferred the commercial centre of the world from London to New York. He is convinced that a free trade policy on our part would bring over to these shores those British manufacturers and shippers whose trade lies with North and South America. The genuine contest between Canada and the mother country will come then when Canada's commercial interest will be with us. If ever Macaulay's New Zealander shall make the prophesied sketch from a broken arch of London Bridge it will be after a free trade policy on the part of the United States shall have removed the commercial centre from Westminster.

SPEAKER REED'S DEFENSE.

Thomas B. Reed defends himself and his party in the North American Review for February through the medium of an article entitled "A Deliberative Body." Mr. Reed opens his defense with flippant wit that is amusing if not convincing. He affirms that the biennial elections for members of Congress are designed to give the people a chance to have their will enacted into law through the choice of representatives to Congress. The making of laws is the main function of legislative bodies, declares Mr. Reed, though he admits that successful opposition to the enactment of new laws may be esteemed legislation, since it often is in effect a voting in favor of laws already in existence. Debate is legitimate whether it be for the enlightenment of Congress or for the enlightenment of people outside of Congress. But debate and deliberation are not mere talk. Debate, as a guide to the understanding of legislators, should not be restricted, but debate merely for the killing of time in order that a majority may not obey the mandate of the people at the polls is worthy of no such forbearance. Why have an election if it chooses nothing? Why a decision at the polls if it decides nothing? Once establish the doctrine that the minority is to rule, and then in natural sequence comes the question, How small can you make that minority and still rule? That way despotism lies, not Democracy!

Our forefathers used only the previous question to curtail debate because obstruction then was rare. Indeed, obstruction as now practiced is a modern invention, and this is true not only of our Congress, but of Parliaments the world over.

Mr. Reed sees danger both here and in Great Britain from the frequent resort to physical obstruction on the part of minorities. Opposition is most effective against party measures, hence the anomaly of the greatest resistance on the very points already passed upon by the peo-

ple. Thus the sacred duty of the House, imposed upon it by the Constitution of determining its own membership has been successfully opposed by a minority. Until 1882 obstruction upon such measures was unknown. Mr. Reed thinks such a duty should not be imposed upon the body, but insinuates that Mr. Carlisle's professed belief that the filibustering of the minority can be justified in such a matter is insincere. By proper business regulations, acquiesced in and honestly followed, the important measures that the House was elected to perform could have been done last session before the middle of July. The waste of time in the House is enormous. In the last session of Congress one hundred and eighty hours were wasted in roll-calls. The waste might be saved if motions now used for dilatory purposes had to be seconded by a majority. Mr. Reed points out to those that deplore the "slaughter of debate" in the present session of Congress that the *Congressional Record* was more voluminous in 1890 than in years when no attempt was made to apply the gag rule to the House. He insists that the late election was not a decision against the gag. The people will never decide against the right to enact their will into law, and if the new House votes away its powers as a law-making body it cannot escape the consequences. It has been demonstrated that the House, by an exercise of its constitutional powers, can keep all the campaign pledges given to the people, and enact, so far as one body goes, all the laws that the people have ordained. Henceforth the hindrance of the minority cannot be pleaded in excuse of a party's failure to keep its promises.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

LAND VALUE OF RAILROADS A MONOPOLY VALUE.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Allow me to express my concurrence with C. J. Buell's views on the railway problem, as expressed by him in THE STANDARD. I believe with him that all that is necessary for Government to own is the road bed, the running of trains being left to competition; or, if that is not feasible or for the best interests of the public, let them be run by contract with the Government to the lowest responsible bidder. We have large amounts of public work now done under contract. Why not the running of railway trains? The principle of competition would be adhered to if this was done.

I am opposed to the Single Tax being applied to railroads, even if the value of their land or franchise could be ascertained. The land value used by a railroad is a monopoly value. The Single Tax is for the purpose of destroying monopoly, and all that we want is economic rent, not the profits of monopoly. I do not believe there is need of any monopoly, public or private, if Government simply performs its most important function of preserving equally the rights of all.

Dorchester, Mass.

E. LUCAS.

A CALL FOR HELP.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: It seems there is no getting help to come here, where it is so much needed: and so backward is this State in all questions of the day, that one is led to think that nothing short of an earthquake will arouse the sleepers. I see that our ablest men are all around this State, but none of them come here to give a lift. Mr. Shearman strikes for the State of Texas and makes the "fur fly," he gives the State of Missouri a "shaking up," and other remote States feel his influence: Mr. Post goes to Kansas: Mr. Williams goes to Minnesota and Michigan: Mr. Herne goes everywhere except to the State of Alabama: can't some one come down and help us? Judge Reed is the only "big gun" we have had, and I have done all in my power to induce Single Tax men to come here. I am working most of my time in the line of tax reform, and hope to show something for my labor before long. If Mr. Shearman could go with me to-morrow before our Legislature, now in session, he could capture the State for radical reform in this line. Our city is on the point of raising the tax levy, to provide additional funds for paving and sewerage, and I hope to get in some work to-morrow at Montgomery, where the question will be brought up for legislative action. Will not Mr. Herne or some other traveling "evangelist" correspond with me, with a view of making this State an objective point of attack?

I go to Cincinnati and Cleveland for ten days, after one day spent at Montgomery, and will then be glad to welcome any worker who can come here. Weather perfect: opportunities immense: the people are in a "superb condition" to work upon: "triumphant democracy" has got its work in, and the coal and iron miners have just been driven back to work at the "monopolists' rates of wages, after having been out on strike for several weeks, and wages all over the State have declined rather than advanced, as it was promised they would when protection triumphed. From many coal and iron mines throughout this State there comes notes of warning, for miners to "keep away" as the men are "on strike" or are fighting for higher wages, or against a reduction. Iron can be made in this State for less than in any other part of the world, yet wages are low, and

going lower. From the fact that men can live in this State at a less cost for fuel, clothing, etc., they are made to work for less: and the land monopolizer therefore gets the benefit from the climatic advantages, as well as the benefits directly accruing from ownership of the land. There are thousands of acres of unused land that could support in comfort millions of men. It is held out of use, on speculation, or for other unjust reasons, and men are at the mercy of the capitalists and landlords.

The Auditor of our State has taken one good step towards justice, by directing assessors and county commissioners to estimate and assess separately land having iron and coal veins running through them. "Dinna ye hear it? The Campbells are coming." Put your ear to the ground man, and listen. The Macedonian cry comes up from Alabama: Come over and help us. Who will make it in their way to come?

Daphne, Ala., February 9.

EDWARD QUINCY NORTON.

FREE PUBLIC HIGHWAYS.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: In THE STANDARD of January 21 Robert Scott says: "I think that the Government can serve the public better by furnishing rolling stock for the railways than individuals can." I find that my way of putting it to the farmers "takes." I say, treat the railroads *exactly* as any other public highway. Let the public own and keep up the road the same as any other road: employ train dispatchers and others necessary to prevent accidents, just as our cities employ police to prevent accidents at street crossings: and allow the people to use the road *free*, the same as any other road, paying the expenses of maintaining the highway by taxation of land values. Free competition among carriers, free to use the highway without toll, would give us not only the cheapest service but the best, for it would stimulate labor-saving invention which Government monopoly of the rolling stock would not do. I think the common sense plan is to treat *all* public highways on the same principle and raise revenues by the Single Tax.

East Sioux falls, S. D.

W. E. BROKAW.

ANOTHER HOARY-HEADED WRONG DOOMED.

An English Royal Commission of Market Rights and Tolls has recently finished its investigations and made a report, which recommends that local authorities shall be empowered to acquire the market rights of private individuals. These market monopolies and rights to levy tolls on vehicles coming to market are in the hands of the great landowning nobility, and are analogous to the ancient rights of the landlords to compel people to have their grain ground at the landlord's mill. The charters for these monopolies date back from two to six hundred years, and as the towns have grown, the monopolies have become enormously valuable and very oppressive, because the facilities have not increased in proportion to the population. The London Echo mentions a case which is but a sample of many like it. In the days of Charles II. a charter was granted to an individual, whose heirs afterward sold it to Sir Julian Goldschmid, to hold a market in Spitalfields, London. At that time Spitalfields was on the very verge of the open country, and the value of the market rights was but small; but now that London has extended eastward, so as to include no less than thirteen Parliamentary boroughs, besides populous districts over the Essex border, this musty old charter has been again and again ruled by the Law Courts to give the holders thereof a market monopoly of the whole of the vast population of the East End of London, a population as large as the whole of New York. The area of the market has increased but little, and the persons frequenting it overflow into all the adjoining streets, and actually have to pay the owners of the monopoly for the privilege of using these streets which are maintained by the taxpayers.

The report of the commission is signed by Lord Derby and eleven other commissioners. A minority report goes further; it not only recommends that the authorities be allowed to condemn and purchase these rights, but shall be compelled to do so. This is probably recommended because the authorities in some places are so much in the power of the landlord that they would be afraid to take advantage of the law unless compelled to do so.

THE FREE TRADE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

A strong reaction has set in against the recent high tariff legislation of Germany. The duties on breadstuffs, or the corn laws, as they would be called in England, have become particularly odious. Already the consumption of bread has fallen off on account of the high prices caused by the duties. What the result of this will be is briefly stated by Professor Classen, a well-known Conservative, who denounces the policy of his party in this matter. He says:

The poorer classes of Germans have always been a badly nourished lot, and this decrease will tell on the general health of the nation. I hold, and am ready to prove, that the Government which enhances the price of food by prohibitory tariffs or by closing the frontiers against certain products, as is now done in the case of American pork, ordains many of its citizens to death by slow starvation.

As in the case of England the class of landowning farmers is com-

paratively small, and the men who will eventually get the benefit of the increased prices are the great landlords, who will be able to charge higher rents for their lands; although the laws are presumably framed to help the working farmers.

One result of the duties on American products has been a large falling off of the exports to the United States, giving a striking example of the economic law that any nation that wants to export must import: that goods are paid for in goods.

Of course, the agitation against the corn laws involves a discussion of the whole protective principle, and the Free Traders are taking advantage of their opportunity. On the whole, with the tariff question coming to the front, and with the right of free speech better secured than for years past, owing to the failure to re-enact the anti-Socialist laws, the people of Germany are progressing rapidly toward freer conditions.

LAND NATIONALIZATION IN EUROPE.

At the annual meeting of the Swiss Land Nationalization Society, which took place recently, Herr Michael Flurschein was elected vice-president. The meeting was a large one, and showed the great progress of the ideas advocated by the Nationalizers which are, however, very different from those of Single Tax men. A resolution and statement of principles was unanimously passed, declaring the necessity of the transfer of the land from private owners to the State, and advocating, first, a new registration of the ground value of each separate plot of land; secondly, the transfer of all land mortgages to the State in exchange for State bonds bearing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest; and, finally, the imposition of a yearly rent, periodically revisable for the use of water power which, to Switzerland, is what coal deposits are to other countries. Many of the cantons already own land in common, and the ideas of the Nationalizers find a ready acceptance. Of the 115 members of the Grand Council of Basle twenty-five are declared Nationalizers.

The Dutch Land Nationalization League is making considerable progress in Friesland. All the leaders of the Frisian "people's party" have joined the League, and the Dutch Universal Suffrage League has adopted its principles. On the 1st June, 1891, the elections will be held for the Dutch House of Commons, and Nationalization candidates are standing for all the Frisian districts. The president of the League, Mr. Mansholt, a large farmer in Groningen, will be run as a candidate, and Mr. Stoffel, the leading advocate of the ideas, has himself been chosen as the candidate for the district of Dolkum, and says that it will be a warm contest, wholly on the principle of Land Nationalization.

The Dutch League advocates compensation to landlords on the ground, as we understand it, that all capitalists should be treated alike, whether they have invested their capital in land or in any other legally recognized form of wealth. The League believes, with Mr. Flurschein, that the system of private property in land is the primary cause of interest, and that an excellent bargain can therefore be made in buying out landlords by giving them government bonds at a low rate of interest, subject to conversion to lower rates, as interest falls.

In England the Land Nationalization Society propose to build a lecture van for travelling lecturers. A fund is being raised for the purpose. D'Arcy W. Reeve, who has been an ardent supporter of the principles of the society, has been elected vice-president, while Alfred Russell Wallace is still president.

ENOUGH MONEY BUT NOT ENOUGH WEALTH.

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman recently gave a lecture on "Money" before the Brooklyn Single Tax Club and the Woman's Single Tax Club of the same city, one portion of which is thus reported by the Brooklyn Eagle:

Money is a subject which always has a very lively interest. It has been the source of endless controversy and quarreling. It is both blessed and cursed: it is the most indispensable instrument of civilization. Money is the thing which everybody wants and which he don't want. Every sensible man wants to spend money as soon as he gets it. A man who keeps any great amount of money is a fool. I counted my wealth just before addressing you and I find that I am not the owner of more in the whole world than \$20. Mr. Russell Sage, who possesses, or is said to possess, property worth \$40,000,000, is said never to have more at one time than \$5 in money. The men of wealth are the poorest in proportion to their wealth, so far as the actual amount of money they have at any time. As people increase in wealth their anxiety to get rid of their money increases. This is because money is only a tool, a means to an end. If we hold the money it brings to us no income whatever. Money, to go to the root, is anything that will serve as an instrument of exchange, currently accepted. At times nations have nothing but substitutes for gold, silver or copper as money, and like our own country, in war times, have to resort to paper currency. If there is no money no man will engage in production on a large scale and no one will anticipate the market. Thus, there is no production except to supply immediate needs. The advantage of a gold and silver currency is that it cannot be increased without some human agency being employed, and they cannot be produced without any amount of human labor, which gives them large value. They are also practically indestructible. Gold can be put through a thousand different processes without perceptible loss. Silver is liable to slightly more

loss in changing form. It has the advantage of paper currency in that it cannot be indefinitely increased without actually existent values to correspond. So long as the limit of the issue of greenbacks is observed it will keep its value and be redeemable. Banking currency is closely related to money, with the difference that while banks can be sued in the courts of law to compel them to redeem their paper, the Government cannot. The credit of the Government is one of the poorest kinds in the world that you can enforce, and yet you hear on every side the question if bankers' credit is so good, why should not that of the country with its unlimited wealth be much better? Does not the Government, it is asked, own everything? No. No form of government in this country which should seek by direct means to make the people pay even so much as one-fifth of their wealth to it could stand. It is true that in some countries the people pay more than that, but they do not know it. We boast of our record in this country that we have never repudiated, but it is the most absolute rubbish. Nobody ever got a penny for the Continental currency. Money should be as good as you can possibly make it, and then everybody will want it. There must be one uniform kind of currency. As to the amount of money, our farmer friends out West seem to have two opinions. Some of them think we ought to have about three thousand million dollars, or \$50 per capita of the population: others that the total wealth of the country ought to be equaled in money or that we ought to have sixty thousand millions. If we need more money than we have on the same basis as that of the other countries of the world, the supply and demand of commerce will regulate it. That we have enough of gold and silver already is shown by the fact of the large quantities of "dead gold" and silver in our treasuries. What we lack is the wealth, not money. What we want is about the amount of money necessary for for each American family for a week in advance. Allowing \$50 a month for the average family, which would be more than ample, we should have \$650,000,000. Now we have already over \$1,000,000,000 of currency. The recent money stringency was not due to lack of currency. It was due to lack of confidence and because the money was hoarded. If we all go to hoarding the currency there will never be enough. We must have money that shall be so good that everybody shall be willing and anxious to have it.

PERSONAL.

The London Star, of January 28, says that Michael Davitt has "been confined to his bed during the last eight days at Land League Cottage, Ballybrack, near Dublin, with a severe attack of bronchitis. His intention on leaving England was to visit the west of Ireland to investigate the amount of distress there prevailing. Good intentions paved the way to sickness, but the journey is only postponed until the great patriot is better. Mr. Davitt's family has been singularly unfortunate in their attempt to reside in England. Before Christmas his three children were all seriously ill from croup and bronchitis, nor did Mrs. Davitt escape the maladies prevalent at their Richmond home. The cold which has laid the head of the family low also was contracted in England."

* * *

Len W. Hoch, of Adrian, Mich., addressed the Farmers' Alliance at Pentecost on February 7. He spoke on the Single Tax, which he had been invited to present to the Alliance. Mr. Hoch writes: "Contrasting this time with a year ago, I find we are making wonderful progress."

* * *

D. Webster Groh, of Boston, had a letter in the Boston Globe recently, in which he showed the revenues of the Government are being diverted, by protection, into the pockets of monopolists.

* * *

Friend Brokaw is supposed to be putting in all his time "missionerizing" among the people of South Dakota; but he seems to have spare moments, which he utilizes by tackling editors. He has to use a Westernism, just "locked horns" with the editor of the Sioux Falls Journal, of course, on the Single Tax. So far, three letters from Brokaw have appeared in that paper. The editor runs hard and dodges well, but Brokaw will lasso him yet. The Dakota Ruralist, published at Huron, S. D., of January 31, also contains a letter from Brokaw, on "Why Do We Pay Taxes?" The editor says "it is interesting."

* * *

The Toronto Canada News says that Major Edwards, the Single Taxer, of Kingston, has stripped for the fray in Kingston. He has resigned all offices, even to his command in the British army, and intends to devote himself solely to making his Single Tax campaign burn.

* * *

Congressman-elect Jerry Simpson the other day told the Kansas City Times that the story that he does not wear socks is "a big lie and a vile slander." "I wear," he said, "as good socks as any other gentleman in Kansas. My wife is a careful little body, and she insists upon keeping me supplied with socks that would do even for a 'Prince Hal,' and she don't let any holes get in 'em, either. She knits the 'hoses' herself." The Memphis Appeal says it is time to stop making fun of Mr. Simpson. "He may not have worn socks during his campaign," says the Appeal, but there is no doubt that he has brains. He has proposed that if the Democrats of the South Dakota Legislature will vote for the Alliance senatorial candidate in that State, the three Alliance members of the Illinois Legislature shall vote for Palmer. If this scheme carries the Republicans will lose two members of the Senate. The merit of the proposition lies in the fact that the Alliance candidate in South Dakota already has more votes than any other one candidate. The Alliance members of the Illinois Legislature are said to take kindly to the proposition."

* * *

His friends will be glad to hear that Captain W. H. Mathews, Superintendent of the Children's Aid Society on East Forty-fourth street, is able to be about again. He has been confined to his rooms by an attack of bronchitis for the past six weeks.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, February 17, 1891.

The attention of officers of Single Tax organizations is called to the resolutions adopted at the National Conference to the effect that all organizations subscribing to the National Single Tax platform shall be eligible for membership in the League. Thus far but very few clubs have formally subscribed to the platform and enrolled themselves in the League, and officers of organizations that have as yet made no move in the matter are earnestly requested to bring the question before their clubs and apply at once to the secretary of the National Committee for enrollment.

The National Committee is circulating a petition asking the United States House of Representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a Single Tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and Single Tax men are urged to obtain petitions and solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

It has also taken up the newspaper work of the Memphis committee, and is now engaged in circularizing newspapers in every State, calling their attention to the wide-spread interest now shown in the subject of the Single Tax, and urging that they call on the press companies supplying their ready prints and plates for Single Tax matter.

The secretary desires to appeal again to our Single Taxers for renewed effort in behalf of the petition. But ten months now remain for its completion, and it seems almost criminal not to take advantage to the utmost of this opportunity to bring the question of the Single Tax so prominently before the whole country.

Reports from our friends go to show that six or seven of our Congressmen elected to the next House of Representatives are Single Taxers, while many others are favorable to our ideas. The respectful consideration of our petitions is therefore not only assured, but the appointment of the special committee of inquiry is almost a certainty. Draw on the committee for a supply of petition blanks and give the petition the boom that its importance deserves.

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work for the week ending February 17:

E. C. Babbitt, Aspen, Colo.	\$12 00
Subscriptions previously acknowledged	1,452 20

Total..... \$1,464 20

Cash contributions for same period are as follows:

E. A. Underhill, Boston, Mass.	5 00
William Perkins, Saginaw, Mich.	1 00
J. M. Wilson, Cochranton, Pa.	28
L. Roselli, Danbury, Conn.	50
Chicago S. T. Club, collections at two meetings	16 85
"Our Cook," Bryn Mawr, Pa.	25
Charles S. Prizer, Reading, Pa.	50
Sundry contributions in postage stamps	32

	\$24 70
Contributions previously acknowledged	1,005 54

Total..... \$1,030 24

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	98,253
Signatures received since last report	559

Total..... 98,812

For news budget, see roll of States.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

"IS IT RIGHT?—THE ETHICS OF THE LAND QUESTION."

Following is an address delivered by the Rev. Dr. John W. Kramer, last Sunday evening, before the Manhattan Single Tax Club:

Land is God's gift to the people; the people need it; no man's share in it is asked of him, but every one's right to it is asserted; nothing else can be justice. The simple statement would seem to show the ethical nature of the case. But there are complications, and the one plan proposed to effect the result, known as the Single Tax on land value, is objected to by many right-feeling persons, who say that it does not seem that it would be just to tax landholders out of economic rent, to intercept their investment in land value, after civilized society has for long centuries encouraged persons to make such investment in the conviction that it was both right and lawful to do so, unless the State, which has encouraged and protected the investment, makes some compensation for what landlords must lose. Those who propose the Single Tax have not been unmindful of the ethical consideration belonging to it. The lecturer can hardly hope to present anything here that is new, but he may endeavor to offer what study he can make in some original manner which possibly may command attention and challenge conviction.

At the outset let us be assured that an immoral cause cannot win assent from the people and through popular demand become lawful practice of the State. Wealth and greed may purchase legislation which is wrong, and party feeling may influence legislation which is unfair, and both of them may become iniquitous in corrupting the executive or the judiciary; but the public conscience is not debauched, and the people will not ask for what is thought to be wrong. A majority of the people may be mistaken as to the wisdom or unwisdom of a measure, but so long as any proposition seems unrighteous the people will withhold approval. The Single Tax advocates must show that it is both right and expedient. To the ethics belonging to this question let us give a bold investigation:

1. The highest moral consideration here attaches itself—in the abstract study and in application of it—not to property, not to land as property, but to land in its primary relation to man. For consider: (1) all wealth is produced from land, everything that man has coming from it; (2) all wealth is produced by labor; (3) land and labor are necessary to man's continued

existence on the planet. The one gift to the race, the absolute and unconditioned gift, is Land, on which and from which every child of man must live. It is God's board, from which alone the Father in Heaven gives man his daily bread. Man is before property in every moral study. In morals the right to property comes to the front when we find man with something in his possession produced from the land; and then it appears at the front for man's sake. All this is said because it is of first importance, and needs to be referred to incidentally in our study. And it must not be forgotten that the Single Tax is proposed for the suppression of an evil—that of poverty. The suppression of an evil has highest rank in public morals. Property has been confiscated and destroyed, life has been required of thousands, for the suppression of evils all through history, and relief for man and the advancement of the race have justified the crowning of those who were not deterred by considerations of property or life as benefactors of the world. Our question is, Does the Single Tax propose to suppress an evil by means that are not justifiable?

2. Taxation is for the maintenance and defence of the State, the preserver of society. There has been a general conviction that citizens should be taxed in proportion to their wealth and revenue. The whole community is protected in persons and homes, and provided with highways, schools and many conveniences; those who acquire property have, in addition, the protection of their property. It seemed that every one ought to pay something for the protection and provision given by the State, unless so poor and helpless as to be a proper case for charitable care. Peoples probably responded to this moral persuasion with a good will that was provoked out of existence by learning that a small class had taken unjust advantage. What was true of Athens should have been true in every civilization where patriotism was not dead or dying. The late Professor Thorold Rogers has presented (En. Brit., Finance) this aspect of Athenian taxation: "The extraordinary taxes on property which the Government levied, and which the contributors paid, apparently with the greatest readiness." Why so? We find that "it was graduated, being a heavier per centage in the case of the richer citizens than in that of the middle classes." As long as the rich hold to such a compact others pay their share willingly. It is not so with us. Our taxation not only violates the canons of Adam Smith, but is also unrighteous, and every moral consideration demands that it be amended. The natural tendency of taxes on commodities is to the consumer. The minority class, who have wealth and opportunity found that indirect taxation might be put on the people, who would feel the burden while they could not easily discover what it was and whence it came; found that much direct taxation might be shifted from themselves; and perceived that a portion of wealth which otherwise would come under taxation might be hidden, and that where it could not be hidden there were in some instances taxing laws which could be evaded.

There are sorry devices to make perjury easy. The taxing officers tell us unblushingly that they violate the law which created them by declining to appraise property at its value, and by compromising with rich men who have movable wealth, lest these persons remove out of their jurisdiction. In all these items there is violence done to that general conviction on which taxation is accepted, that citizens ought to support the State according to ability; and it shocks the public conscience to think of wealth, which avoids taxation, being guarded by the State, which imprisons thieves who may take it and shoots down rioters who may menace it. The result of the matter itemized is, that the toilers of the community bear the burden of taxation. The proportion falling upon each and every one of them is far beyond his just share. He is taxed for the spot of land on which he stands, eats or sleeps, for the food he eats, for the water he drinks, for the clothes he wears, for the fuel he burns; and the taxes on his standing up or lying down, on his eating, drinking, and warming, are greater than on the necessities of other men; he is taxed most heavily for the right to live and the opportunity to work. The present system of taxation being hard on the poor who must pay more than their equitable share, easy on the rich when they pay what the laws demand, and easier still for them when they evade payment of tax, righteousness demands that the system be amended into a just one if it be possible; or, if that be impossible, that it be swept away and we begin anew. The right of the State to tax anything, any business, any privilege, being conceded, does not mean that the State has the right to be unjust in doing this. We are studying ethics—what is right and what is wrong—and those who raise a moral objection to the Single Tax are surely unwilling that the State shall do wrong.

Single Tax men propose that the State shall exercise its right of taxation on a value which no one man can make or give, but which men together give, a value which the State or society gives to that which God made for the use of this society, and that every one shall be taxed on this value according to his use or possession of it. As soon as any one sees what this means, what it is, he perceives in it a self-acting law which would bear righteously, with equal and exact justice on everyone, coming as near to absolute justice as we can in this world.

3. The objectors now in mind allow that the above is probably true if we could make a new beginning, if society had never got astray in this matter, if with the dawn of civilization it had started right; but, it is urged, so many vested interests pertain to the private ownership of land, permitted and encouraged by Christian States from ancient time, that it seems unjust to propose a tax on this value which would take it entirely away from those who may now have income of it and expect to reap profit on it in the future, unless other wealth is to share the loss sustained. This calls for the fairest treatment. John Stuart Mill was one of the rare men who can be moved by logic; and before he was argued out of the wage-fund theory, thought the just solution of our problem to be in the State claiming a future unearned increment in land, leaving to the landholders value present when the reform should be determined. The objection above given is the utterance of a large number whose sense of righteousness would hold back the State from any wrong though it would advantage themselves. Indeed, it expresses the feeling which the wage-earners have had and which has made them slow in demanding legislation to overthrow landlordism. Not all of them yet are quite sure that it is a righteous propo-

sition. The responsibility of teachers here is weighty. Some, speaking in the name of God and for man, are ready to say it is right.

(1.) What is the law? There is prevalent ignorance as to the principle of the law under which land is held. Much of the moral sentiment which is shocked by the Single Tax proposition is because men think that the law has fostered the idea that property in land is of the same nature as property in anything a man has made, or, at least, as property in a wild beast one has caught. But that is not so. The manner in which the courts have treated land has made it so appear, and commentators on the law of real property have made it so appear. They could hardly do otherwise, and are not blamed. But the masters of the origin and philosophy of law know better, and in their department of study have to show us otherwise. What is the *lex scripta* in its true nature? "The first thing that the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership. Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands. He can only hold an estate in them." (Law of Real Property, Mr. Joshua Williams). The true idea is that a landlord holds from a sovereign to whom the land may revert; his estate in the land is tenancy.

The Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition ("Personal Estate"), in exhibiting the main differences which still exist in England between real and personal property, says: "In real property there can be nothing more than limited ownership." The law, under all its development, stimulated by the greed of the lords, never gave away entirely any land from the sovereign. That is the nature of the law with us, merely modified by our republican form of government, which makes the State sovereign, and puts the power of taxation under the direction of the people in town meeting or by representatives frequently returning to the people.

If we make a deeper inquiry into the philosophy and ethics of the law of real estate, we can have no teacher above Dr. Paley, in his "Moral and Political Philosophy." We find his position to be this: The law of the land is the ultimate ground upon which the right of property is based, and that can only be justified as it is according to the will of God, and that is only seen by the law serving the best interest of men. Dr. Paley thought the law was justified, but if it had been shown him that the best interests of men were not served by the law of the land, he must have condemned it on the principles he lays down.

The great students of the philosophy of the law, from Grotius and Puffendorf down, have been unable to find any higher justification for land tenure than occupancy and what seemed the benefit given by tenure to society. Even Blackstone, a stern upholder of the law, has to say:

Whereas, the law of nature suggests that on the death of the possessor the estate should again become common, and be open to the next occupant, unless otherwise ordered for the sake of civil peace by the positive law of society. (Commentaries, Book ii., Chapter i.)

We get this from our inquiry into the *lex scripta* that, while it allows complete ownership of personal property, it knows only estate in real property. The right of the sovereign has never been entirely yielded. When a land was conquered it was a monarch's by right of conquest. But whether the king arose to his rule from the land itself or gained it by conquest, it was his for his family, the nation, until his over-lordship changed from protection to oppression, as we shall see. He granted land to lords on condition that they would support on it the poor, whose men were to follow their lords in wars of the nation. When these grantees abused their trust to the harm or displeasure of the king, he took their estates from them. With us the State is the sovereign, landlords are tenants of the sovereign, having the old aristocratic name—lords of the land—but relieved from the feudal time duties to the people. This is our inheritance from ancient days and the mother country. Never has the old principle in land-holding been purged from our law. Simple as this is, it will be new to many. The laymen have assented to the idea of absolute ownership of land, because it has been an insidious growth in the public mind, fostered by the interest itself, a fabrication which the system, by its very oppressive nature, has built up in the notions of lessors and tenants.

(2.) How did the law become what it is? Whatever the law is, did it begin and develop as righteous or as oppressive law?

Beyond the records of our people we find our fathers living in village communities, with a chief elected, who had superseded the patriarch of narrower family and tribal life. The land was held in common. ("The Dawn of History," C. F. Keary. Indeed, any standard work on the subject, or the articles of encyclopedias may be consulted). A beautiful picture of village life, in which every family had its right to the land fully respected, is shown to us. There was no vassal, no villen, no churl wearing the collar of a master. The land belonged to all the people, as the Heavenly Father surely meant it should. But men were hardly more beautiful in their moral nature than they are now; if vices had not developed to present manifestations, neither had virtues. Wars between neighboring communities would arise, and one of these clans bringing in prisoners from another soon found how much easier it was to till the land by the toil of others than by their own industry. The prisoner acquired no right in the soil unless he married into the community. But he was granted the right to maintenance, as necessary to him as to a beast. Only, let it be noted, that it was maintenance equal to that of his captors. That man could exploit his brother man was one of the sad lessons learned in the unbrotherly school which a Divine Teacher came to destroy, and it made the earliest mark on this history which must be briefly traced. In Greece and Rome—which we leave outside of our study—it made sad havoc. The "Ealdorman" (Alderman) of a community developed into kingship when there came the growth into a nation. But the kingship was an office, and not a property, and was elective. The son of a deceased king was elected only when he was a capable leader. The "folkland" maintained its actuality, and then the semblance of it, amid changing institutions that were not friendly to it; it seems like some sacred ark of God which men were slow to touch. But as kingship developed it was doomed. Very innocent seems the begging of its fate:

Alongside of the folkland, the land of the community, grew up the private estate. * * * This is land which is a man's very own, the gift of the community, held according to the laws of the community. It

is not the gift of this or that man, owing any service to this or that man. As the king's power grew, as he came to be looked on more and more as the representative of the community, the land of the community came, step by step, to be looked on as his land. In the six hundred years between the English conquest of Britain and the Norman conquest of England, the folkland, the *ager publicus*, passed into *terra regis*, the land of the king. As the community could at all times grant away its own land, the doctrine gradually grew that the king, the head of the community, could grant it away also. In the first stage he granted it only with the assent of the community; in a later state he came to dispense with that assent. Land thus "booked"—granted by a written document, to whomever the king would, but, of course, mainly to his personal followers—became "bookland." The lord was the giver of bread to his man, and the land of the community was the noblest form of bread that he could give.—Prof. E. A. Freeman, En. Brit.: England.

The same authority reaches the Conquest and its effect on our line of inquiry to tell us this:

The lands and goods of all who had opposed William, living or dead, were confiscated to him. The crown lands—and in William's reading of the law the folkland was crown land—of course passed to the king. * * * But in every case, whether a man kept his own land or received land which had belonged to some one else, all land was held as a grant from the king.

Alluding to the earlier tendency at work to turn the folkland—what had been left as belonging to the nation—into the land of the king, he goes on to say:

To this process the Conquest gave the finishing touch. The stroke by which the whole lay soil of England was held to be forfeited to the Conqueror turned all folkland into *terra regis*. From Domesday onward the folkland vanishes; but now that the crown lands are placed under the control of Parliament, as part of the national revenue the *terra regis* has practically become folkland again.

The last clause of this sentence, italicized for our use, refers to a change that came centuries later. Again:

The "king of the English" gradually changes into the "King of England." * * * The ancient doctrine died out very slowly, but it did die out in the end. * * * As office was turned into property, so property in land was turned into office, and carried with it much of the likeness of a miniature sovereignty. The doctrine of primogeniture also now naturally supplanted the old principle of division of lands.

The "miniature sovereignty" must always be to some extent associated with landlordism. A man who can bid others begone from land, though they have not where to put their feet and lay their heads, is something of a prince, though he be but a petty prince.

It is but a step from the Conqueror to the Synod of Merton, 1235. We come to the beginning of the British Constitution. Parliament is in its infancy. We inquire what is among its earliest records that are now accessible. One of England's weakest and most prodigal kings, Henry III., was on the throne and he was nearly always quarrelling with his barons, who were bled for money and provoked to resistance. Only a few years before and the lords had forced the Great Charter from John. They would give Henry means for his need at times but they demanded concessions—grants. The statute of Merton shows that "folkland," or "King's land"—whatever it was called—was yet, in good measure, held for the people. The statute is but another beginning of robbery from the commoners. The barons are encroaching now. It is only a little that is dared. The lords may improve wastes provided they leave for the commoners sufficient pasture with ingress and egress. Fifty years later (1285) the statute of Westminster the Second extended the privilege of inclosures. The process continued down to 1836, when we meet with the first note of modern protest from public sentiment to save common land in the neighborhood of London and the large towns. The people had been for a time that cannot be known—going back certainly eight or nine centuries—the victims of a great and growing wrong, with never the opportunity that the barons had when they seized a king by the throat and wrung Magna Charta from him; they were without intelligence as they were without the power, and probably without the valor necessary. All they seem to have done was to mutter against the encroachments which gave them narrower limits of life, and they doffed their caps and pulled their locks before a lord who allowed them a hovel in which to live. An accurate summary of the steps in this long history is given by the Rev. Dr. S. W. Thackeray in his book, "The Land and the Community."

In the United States we had the old custom brought to us when colonies were placed here, the laws of the custom modified when and after colonies became States, extending to new territory as the great West has been peopled. No one seemed to dream of the mistake in it and the possible wrong of it when our Republic was building except Jefferson and Paine. The people had thought it was all right; they were born into a new political life which gave them the atmosphere of a fresh freedom. The land was large and productive, the population was not crowded; the evils of private ownership have only been felt during the second half century of our independence. How rapidly the burden has grown! Great cities have been built whose toiling population are necessary to their very existence, and with the increase of a city every decent home for laborers has disappeared. The farms of the Atlantic coast have become impoverished or not longer valuable in agricultural competition, and the public lands of the West are all gone into the hands of corporations and speculators.

When we discover what was the origin and what the history of this evil, the moral sentiment is affected in the same way as when a man learns that he has been kept through ignorance from a property to which he is rightful heir. The people finding that regard for their welfare and convenience is their right under the law as it is, that the land is theirs and landholders have but an estate in it, and then finding that estate in land has been gained by a few at the expense of the many through the infringement of natural right, will not only have no moral scruple in doing so, but will esteem it duty to themselves and their children to claim their heritage by some legislation.

(3) The social compact—an unhistorical theory—has been urged on us here. It is a dangerous thing for those who present it to handle, coming, as it does, fused in the heated genius of Rousseau. As now offered it implies either an evolution of law out of the sense of justice or expediency, or that in solemn conclave it was determined to be better for all that land

should be private property, and that in such conclave the right of the ignorant and weak was respected. We have seen the law to be from an evolution out of the greed spirit. And nowhere in all the centuries have the despoiled people been represented in the arrangements of society. Perhaps the nearest to it we can find is the Licinian law of Rome and the futile appeal to it made more than 200 years later by the Gracchi. The classes who have wrangled and legislated have had their own interests at heart, interests that were altogether antagonistic to those of the ignorant and the toiling. Only as a lower class became a little more intelligent and brave has it won recognition, leaving the mass below uncared for. Our own Declaration of Independence and the wild cries of the French Revolution are but the modern instinct of man's right, as man, to political importance. Social adjustments have not come scientifically; they have been expedient outgrowths of society in a more or less rude state, when power and greed have always seized advantage.

But there are some things in any reasonable conception of the social compact assumed to be right. If they are wrong we seem to be driven either to the absolutism of an autocratic monarchy or to the license of an unbridled anarchy. Among them is this principle: All investment assumes the risk that legislation may undermine and destroy it, if the welfare of society calls for such action or the growth of the public conscience becomes shocked by its nature. The nation is said to be like an army, one part of which may have to be sacrificed to save the whole. Not long ago the lottery was thought to be right and was lawful: churches were built by means of it. The whole business was destroyed when its immoral character was recognized. Slavery was allowed as long as the public conscience was not seriously disturbed by it. When England declared emancipation in her colonies and voted twenty millions sterling as compensation, it was about £19, or \$85, per slave. The owners lost whatever beyond that was the value of the slaves. The measure was forced on slave owners; they were not willing to sell out the institution for any such sum. Before our Civil War gradual emancipation was urged on the Southern States, such as other States had adopted. Such a measure would reduce the selling value of nearly every slave the day it became law, with progressive reduction through succeeding time until all such value was gone. Mr. Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation as a war measure. He had thought of compensation as due to slave owners in Southern border States not in rebellion, and repeatedly urged his convictions and counsel to this effect. When his proclamation came it freed the slaves of loyal men on the border, as of others, without compensation. It would have been a task of no difficulty to distinguish union men from the others if deemed right to compensate them for loss in slaves, as was done when goods were seized for army use. Wendell Phillips gave the profound ethical idea when he said that if compensation was to be made it should be to those who had suffered from the loss of their natural freedom.

Some States have passed prohibition acts which destroyed capital invested in distilleries and ruined the business of large numbers of citizens engaged in a retail trade, and no compensation has been made. Has such legislation been unethical? Has it been a violation of the social compact? These questions have grave significance in the fact that improvements have been given over to the elements for destruction, and enterprise has been driven from a community at great cost, and the commonwealth refuses a penny to lighten the hardship; and graver significance is given when we consider that this has been done in the interests of the public morals. Certainly, with such a precedent, there need be no hesitation about the right of society to recover what in nature belongs to it and what it needs, to arrest a private gain belonging to itself. Edmund About may speak for us here:

It accords with equity that one should proceed considerably in the path of suppression, and that one should avoid disturbing laborious and honorable existences. Yet, subject to these reservations, the State has always the authority to render to every citizen the use of a natural right confiscated to the profit of a few. (Handbook of Social Economy.)

In the social compact, if the theory may be supposed as in vital force, surely the canon which governs all else is this; "*Salus populi suprema lex.*" It must have no strained interpretation, but it should have no narrow interpretation: a fairly generous and liberal acceptance is claimed for it. We are always much to the rear of it, except in time of war, pestilence or some other emergency, because laws which hedge old customs are not easily changed. Then look, will you? at the tenement-house wretchedness in New York and elsewhere. This evil has come to the people and is extending because landlordism receives the increasing population. Philanthropic citizens have given an exhaustive examination to the tenement-house problem with the view of finding practicable relief, and have not found it. The most acute minds may be challenged to solve the problem, and but two remedies can be found: one is paternalism, a government which will defend its poor with a rude, strong hand; the other is the recovery of the holy land belonging to the people. The first of these would most likely prove temporary, as it would be rude, artificial and awkward; the other present, itself with a living spirit that is natural, self-working and continuing. Look—will you?—in the cold wintry weather at the women and little children who are starving with cold, though God has stored up fuel in the earth that belongs to them, only rich men claim to own it and speculate on it, and dole it out for large gain. Everyone working among the poor knows how easy it is to feed and clothe them with alms, and how difficult to pay rent for them and to give them fire. These items in charitable work indicate the secret of the great trouble that is with us; food and clothing are produced by human industry in which there is competition; land has been created by God, and coal is but a part of this Divine creation access to which wealth monopolizes. The Single Tax offers the adequate remedy.

The *salus populi*, which is the health and well-being of the people, is the supreme ethical law in any social compact. If this proposed measure promises to bless the people it is moral. *Salus populi suprema lex!* Why? Because it is the supreme justice, the supreme equity, the supreme righteousness of the State.

4. It is assumed that a class would suffer loss, and these it is claimed

ought to be compensated, for the reason that has been given. It is true that some would lose investment and further income from the investment. It is difficult to imagine how any radical change can come to society by revolution or legislation without immediate loss to some. It may be a great advance made by the State, but property, if not destroyed, is distributed among other persons. The utmost that it seems we can hope for, when the change is by means of legislation, is to make it as gradual as the interest demanding relief will permit. Changes that come by means of legislation give timely warning. The Single Tax may be applied gradually. Other taxes may be lightened and the tax on land values increased, with a progressive graduation which would bring the Single Tax into its full operation at the end of twenty-five years. Thus it would operate toward landholders only as gradual emancipation would have imposed loss on the slaveholders. The selling value of land would fall at the beginning, while the measure would at once begin its work of relieving society. At the end of the twenty-five years all who have been losers and remain dependent on the conditions of this life, probably will have recouped all loss by the improved conditions of society.

This indicates how and where compensation may surely be looked for. All classes are to be better off when the reform is accomplished. Only those who wish for chances to live on their fellowmen, without giving return of service or benefit, as by forestalling land or bread, may be excepted from this general statement. Such chance for any one can have no kindly consideration in an ethical study.

5. If other compensation than what is to be found in the good of the whole people seems to be demanded, there is a way out of any such ethical perplexity. Who shall furnish the means for any compensation? It would be palpably unjust to raise the money from those who have suffered under the wrong and whose need calls for the relief. Rather are these they who may justly ask compensation. Precisely appears here the rule that would have made it wrong to tax the future of emancipated slaves' lives for the relief given them. The taxation for such a purpose as that now before us should not be on industry and production, must be from a source where the taxation cannot be shifted—on incomes or inheritances, or both. A tax on incomes may be evaded, not shifted; a tax on bequests cannot be evaded or shifted. Such taxation would reach the wealth which objectors, who were in mind when this writing was commenced, say it would not be fair to let off, because land investment was made as innocently as that which gathered other wealth.

There is much more to be said. No very large fortune has been justly gained. Through monopoly of privilege, by artificial inflation of values, by speculation which has degenerated into gambling, by practices which have robbed humanity of comfort, of health, of life—by one or more, or all combined—the fortune of every *prodigus* (over-wealthy person) has been acquired. We do not say with Proudhon, "Property is theft" and "property-holders are thieves;" but we know quite well that all over wealth is from commercial privateering on the argosies of the rich and the small fishing smacks of the poor. At some stage of accumulation "thieving" has been done, within or without the law.

The rich ought to pay for what society requires for its development and for the redress of any injury, according to our present professed standard of taxation. They owe all they have to opportunity given them by society, to what the State has permitted them to do. If men may be called upon to sacrifice their lives for the preservation of the State, there surely can be no moral hesitation in accepting the conclusion that over-wealth gained by taking advantage may be appropriated to meet the public need.

Large fortunes are dangerous to society. The power they give to their possessors of unrighteous activity in affairs is against the public weal; the idlers they make through bequest are not useful citizens.

These brief hints on the relations to the State of plethoric wealth gained outside of land speculation belong to our subject, because there are so many who say that other possession than land holding should share the immediate grievance caused by meeting all public burden of the future by the confiscation of land value. We predict that without any formal call upon the wealth of those who are not landholders, the adoption of the Single Tax would practically operate as these persons desire. What great wealth would not lose something of present value? Where can we find wealth that is not closely related to private monopoly of land? What shares and bonds would not fall in selling value? Those holding any kind of wealth would remain rich, but "it would cut down great fortunes." If, however, any compensation should be called for to meet a just demand that cannot now be anticipated, we may tax inheritance and do no wrong.

It may be pertinent here to say that "Progress and Poverty" has been before the students of political economy for some twelve years; that its author and his disciples have challenged denial of its statements and disproof of its theory, a very large number avowing their readiness to cease all appeal for adoption of its measure proposed if an economic fault be left in it, and that no master able to confute the book has appeared.

And this study may be closed with a brief review of the moral purpose and promise of the Single Tax.

It aims to restore to men what God gave them.

It contemplates the abolition of involuntary poverty.

It offers to society the decrease of drunkenness, prostitution, of all vice and crime which may find a source in indigence.

It discloses the end of strife between capital and labor in the destruction of what preys on and maddens both of them.

It confronts socialism by showing a fair chance for every one in healthful competition.

It points the way to comfortable homes, to freedom from all servitude of overwork, to opportunity for social and intellectual elevation for those who must else despair of it all.

Inspired as it is with the spirit of philanthropy, alive with a divine purpose, strengthened with a consciousness of truth that defies all impugnement, shall we turn away from it because our own or any one's vested interests or business may be harmed? To do so would be to barter the heavenly spirit for what is of the earth earthy.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

The list of new Democratic members of the next House of Representatives is concluded this week. No more important work can be done than to take this opportune time to fully inform them what the Single Tax means, and why we believe it to be the only rational system of taxation:

Hon. D. A. Boody, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Hon. W. J. Coombs, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Hon. John R. Fellows, New York, N. Y.; Hon. John DeWitt Warner, New York, N. Y.; Hon. Henry Bacon, Goshen, N. Y.; Hon. I. N. Cox, Ellenville, N. Y.; Hon. H. W. Bentley, Boonville, N. Y.; Hon. G. Van Horn, Coopers-town, N. Y.; Hon. H. H. Rockwell, Elmira, N. Y.; Hon. H. S. Greenleaf, Rochester, N. Y.; Hon. D. N. Lockwood, Buffalo, N. Y.; Hon. T. L. Bunting, Hamburg, N. Y.; Hon. W. A. B. Braych, Washington, N. C.; Hon. B. F. Grady, Albertson, N. C.; Hon. A. H. A. Williams, Oxford, N. C.; Hon. S. B. Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; Hon. W. T. Crawford, Waynesville, N. C.; Hon. G. W. Houk, Dayton, Ohio; Hon. M. K. Gatz, Troy, Ohio; Hon. F. C. Layton, Wapakoneta, Ohio; Hon. D. D. Donovan, Leipsic, Ohio; Hon. D. D. Hare, Upper Sandusky, Ohio; Hon. J. M. Pattison, Milford, Ohio; Hon. Irvine Dungan, Newark, Ohio; Hon. M. D. Harter, Mansfield, Ohio; Hon. J. G. Warwick, Masillon, Ohio; Hon. A. G. Pearson, Woodfield, Ohio; Hon. William McAleer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. E. N. Hallowell, Abington, Pa.; Hon. L. M. Amerman, Scranton, Pa.; Hon. S. P. Wolverton, Sunbury, Pa.; Hon. F. E. Beltzhoover, Carlisle, Pa.; Hon. E. P. Gillespie, Greenville, Pa.; Hon. G. F. Kribbs, Clarion, Pa.; Hon. Oscar Lapham, Providence, R. I.; Hon. W. H. Brawley, Charleston, S. C.; Hon. George Johnstone, Newberry, S. C.; Hon. George W. Shell, Lawrens, S. C.; Hon. E. T. Stackhouse, Little Rock, S. C.; Hon. William Elliot, Beaufort, S. C.; Hon. C. Snodgrass, Sparta, Tenn.; Hon. N. N. Cox, Franklin, Tenn.; Hon. Josiah Patterson, Memphis, Tenn.; Hon. John B. Long, Palestine, Texas; Hon. J. W. Bailey, Sherman, Texas; Hon. William A. Jones, Warsaw, Va.; Hon. J. W. Lawson, Smithfield, Va.; Hon. Joseph P. Epes, Nottoway Court House, Va.; Hon. John O. Pendleton, Wheeling, West Va.; Hon. J. A. Copehart, Mount Pleasant, West Va.; Hon. Clinton Babbitt, Beloit, Wis.; Hon. Allan R. Bushnell, Lancaster, Wis.; Hon. John L. Mitchell, Milwaukee, Wis.; Hon. Lucas M. Miller, Oskosh, Wis.; Hon. Frank M. Coburn, La Crosse, Wis.; Hon. Thomas Lynch, Antigo, Wis.

Letter writers desiring to enclose tract Extra No. 36 (which contains sample pages, circulars and subscription blanks of "Protection or Free Trade?") in their letters can have them free in any quantity, or they will be sent to any list of names furnished. The mailing of the first hundred thousand will begin about March 1, but subscriptions will be accepted at 10 cents a copy till the entire half million is printed. W. J. Atkinson, 42 University place, New York.

BROKAW STILL "MISSIONERIZING" IN SOUTH DAKOTA.

BALTIC, S. D., February 9.—After transacting business in Sioux Falls Saturday, January 31, I rode home with E. J. Tracy—six miles southwest. I was advertised to speak in the Whittier school house, Wayne township, but a severe storm prevented my filling the appointment.

Sunday afternoon Mr. Tracy took me to Ellis, where we heard a local preacher, and I went home with H. W. Smith, a prominent Alliance man. Monday I was taken to Mr. Connolly's, and in the evening walked to Mr. Collins—a mile farther. But it was too cold for a meeting that night, and so I had to skip that neighborhood. I spent the evening reading from George's works to the three families represented.

Tuesday, February 3, the younger Collins took me into Wellington Township, where we found that scarlet fever in that district would not permit a meeting. He then took me to Humboldt, and we put up seventeen miles from where we started, after facing a keen northwest wind. That night we attended a Quaker "protracted" meeting in a country school house, and at its close I announced that I would lecture in the store at Humboldt the next night. I also distributed some copies of George's article in the Christian Advocate, and got into quite a discussion with one of the preachers; the other one seemed to favor the Single Tax idea.

Wednesday night was milder, and I talked to a good-sized crowd of farmers in the store at Humboldt. Mr. Sanborn, with whom I stopped, said that the after-talk indicated that most of them were convinced that it was a good thing, and some of the best farmers in the neighborhood ordered copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" The ladies present seemed to be much interested, and the "school marm" signed the petition.

Thursday, February 5, Mr. Sanborn took me north. I had sent word from Sioux Falls that I would be at Clear Lake school house the 5th. Arrived there we found nothing was known of it, so I told the teacher to announce that I would speak in the Grand Meadow school house that night. We then drove to the home of the man I had written to, but found no one there. We then went to the Grand Meadow school house, and requested the teacher to announce the meeting, and proceeded to the next farm. As no one could know of the meeting until the children got home from school—and most of them walked home after 5 p. m., various distances—I did not expect a crowd. But the room was about half filled, and, as everywhere, books were ordered and the petition signed.

Friday morning S. O. Heujum came after me and took me into Buffalo township. There the alliance had arranged for me to speak in a school house near the Lake county line in the afternoon. The building was well filled, and the frequent applause indicated that the subject was appreciated. Among those present was Mrs. U. H. Harth, secretary of the local alliance and a Single Tax woman (her address is Chester, S. D.—Miss Bachman, please note), and a couple of "vacant land" anarchists. So that I was in a wide awake community. That night I stopped with John Harth, and as the young folks had a dance at their house that night also I sat up and took part in an all-round discussion until near 1 A. M.

Saturday A. J. Erickson took me to Baltic, over 20 miles. I got there just in time for the local alliance meeting. They began with an open session, and invited a number of outsiders in, and then called on me to explain the Single Tax. For about an hour I consumed their time in a brief statement of the subject and in answering questions. One farmer came to me with a circular containing a blank order for the new edition of "Protec-

tion or Free Trade?" and said J. W. Skepper, of Dell Rapids, had given it to him, and he handed me 50 cents for five copies. Among those present was J. E. Colton, of Taopi. I learned that since I spoke in the Colton school house they have had a debate on the Single Tax: J. E. defended it and his brother opposed. Friday night it was debated in the Baltic school house.

To-day I go to Sioux Falls with the intention of remaining there a week or two doing personal work. While in Sioux Falls a week ago I was introduced to the editor of the Argus-Leader by Mr. Tracy, and gave him a copy of our national platform, which he promised to publish. He also asked me for communications.

Since leaving Watertown I have obtained orders for 167 copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" from almost as many men. In the same time I have obtained 300 signatures to the petition, making 1,475 I have gathered since I came to South Dakota, February 19, 1889, 57 of which I herewith enclose.

I have received a letter from J. W. Hyde, of Ola, Brule County, saying that the resolution I quoted from the Ruralist was passed by Local Alliance No. 71, not by the county alliance. The error was a typographical one in the Ruralist. He says: "We are in the midst of about the most drouth-stricken region there is in the State, and money is just simply out of the question." He says they get now and then a stray copy of THE STANDARD, but have got their knowledge of the Single Tax from Mr. George's books, and continues: "He is a wonderful writer, and then he has reason and common sense, and that is what counts. What a cause to work for—restoring man's heritage! That is good enough to have for our religion. Let us all turn preachers."

I wish to thank friends in all parts of the country for papers containing Single Tax news. As my mail is forwarded to me and I get it in batches, occasionally, I can only tell who papers are from by judging from the title and contents.

Have just received a letter from my brother, Rev. S. P. Brokaw, who moved from South Dakota to Pioneer, Clark County, Washington, last September, in which he says: "I know about ten men in this county who are getting infected with the Single Tax and real Free Trade, who never heard of these things before I came here. I know one who was a Single Taxer before."

Saturday night a genuine blizzard struck us, and all day Sunday it "whooped 'er up," snowing and blowing in approved Dakota fashion. This morning it is clear and cold. W. E. BROKAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

Rev. Dr. John W. Kramer spoke before the Manhattan Single Tax Club last Sunday evening on "Is It Right?—the Ethics of the Land Question." His address is printed elsewhere.

To-morrow evening (Thursday) Robert W. Hanington will appear before the club and in their presence make a crayon drawing which he will present to the club. The rest of the evening will be given up to social features, for which the agitation committee have prepared a programme. Ladies are especially invited.

Fred. C. Keller.—On Saturday, February 21st, at 8 p. m., Mr. Thos. G. Gilligan will address the Metropolitan Single Tax Association, his subject being "How to Increase Wages."

H. J. Wingardner, Harlem.—Nineteen petitions. I am stirring up all old comrades up here to renewed action in the cause.

George Eggleston.—Inclosed find \$3 toward expenses of the national committee.

BROOKLYN.

G. W. Thompson, February 15, 1891.—Events happen fast and one has great difficulty to keep pace with them and hitch on where advantage shows itself. The problem in Brooklyn is not to find something to do but to choose which is the best.

About two weeks ago Dr. Meredith, of the Tompkins avenue Baptist Church, one of the largest churches in the city in an evening discourse found himself forced to speak of the land question. The lesson referred to Ahab's tempting Naboth to sell him his vineyard. Naboth refused because of the Mosaic law and Ahab only obtained it by following the advice of Jezebel and having Naboth stoned to death. Amongst other things he said: "The Jews couldn't sell their lands because they had no title. It belonged to the Lord. I would like to see where the Lord ever parted with His title to a foot of land. You may fill your deposit vaults with deeds as long as this church but God owns your land just the same. Three-quarters of the reform which men are struggling for is right here in Leviticus, etc." He has had a glimpse of the truth, but wants more light as yet. Here is a good chance of effective work by a broadside from the "letter-writing corps." He foolishly, and probably from lack of information, said in qualifying the above that he "didn't want any nation owning any land that I have anything to do with. We shall solve our problem by going straight back to Leviticus and Deuteronomy."

Last Wednesday night we were favored by an excellent discourse on "Money," by Thomas G. Shearman. The principal points he made were: That money is a very unimportant factor in economics. The evils that are attributed to lack of money are due to entirely different things. It is not money that people want, but the material products of labor, i. e., wealth. Tightness of the money market is due, not to want of money, but to insecurity of investments and lack of confidence. The Free Coinage bill did not interest the speaker much, as he thought the same result will, sooner or later, be reached under the present coinage laws. The prospects were that if free coinage becomes enacted and found imperative in removing the evils its advocates declare it to be remedy for, the people would probably rise and demand an almost unlimited issue of paper money. The address was well received and largely applauded throughout.

A remarkable address was delivered this morning at the Central Congregational Church, one of the largest in the city, to an audience of fully fifteen hundred, by Rev. A. N. Bradford, of Montclair, N. J., who filled the church by exchange, the regular pastor, Rev. J. H. F. Behrends, being absent. The speaker struck right out, arguing for altruism in national

matters as well as in individual matters. He argued for international unity; demanded that international trade should not be considered from the selfish standpoint. He characterized that man as no Christian who argued solely from the point of personal profit, and on that ground would shut out the product of the foreigner's labor. Want of space prevents my speaking further about this address, but here also is a good target for the canister, etc., of our correspondents.

Next Wednesday evening the question will be debated at the Brooklyn Single Tax Club as to whether the social ills of the day are due to the competition between labor and capital or not.

J. B. Connell, Eighteenth Ward.—At the last meeting of the Eighteenth Ward Democratic Association Messrs. Adolph Pettenkofer, James B. Connell and James Hamilton were appointed an Educational Committee to solicit subscriptions for the publication known as "Protection or Free Trade?" The first night's work resulted in securing eighty-four subscribers. Let the good work go on.

NEW YORK STATE.

E. C. Cooley, Dunkirk.—You do not hear from me often, but I am working right along just the same.

S. T., Buffalo.—The Economic Congress met last Thursday evening, February 12, to listen to a discussion on taxation. Mr. Frank M. Loomis spoke against the Single Tax, and Mr. W. S. Rann for it. E. L. Parker said that the income tax should be the Single Tax, and Adolph Strasser, President of the Cigarmakers' International Union, gave it as his opinion that taxation had nothing to do with the solution of the social problem. To his mind, mutual organization to obtain for labor the value of its services was the only true panacea. Strasser is the same old chuckle-head he was ten years ago, when he declared that cigarmakers had no use for land: what they wanted was tobacco.

S. M. Gay, West New Brighton, Staten Island.—Seven petitions, secured by my brother. It happens that his business just now takes him among a new set of men, and I hope the harvest of signatures will be rich.

A. F. Waldbillig, Albany.—Four petitions. The one marked No. 1 is from a young man having a glimpse of the cat. He told me of a club in his town buying up land and lakes. This club bought recently the two finest lakes in the township, and the people are deprived of their fishing ground. I gave him six STANDARDS to circulate.

Edward Ruge, Dunkirk.—I find that some of the Democrats I talk to are afraid to sign the petition. The reason is, probably, that I am not a good hand at explaining the Single Tax.

T. W. Edkins, Ilion.—Enclosed find \$3 for national committee.

MAINE.

S. T., Portland.—Although the Single Taxers of Maine are few and very quiet, there is some thinking going on all over the State. The people are tired of the "bloody shirt" and are now ready for the issue of the day; but as yet these issues have not been properly presented to them. Many of our farmers think that "protection" is all that keeps them from starvation, and as for "Free Trade"—well, it must not be spoken out loud! I believe the time is now at hand when a vigorous educational campaign would be productive of far-reaching results.

The first thing we desire to accomplish is ballot reform. Two years ago the Australian ballot received the hearty support of many of our best people, but it was defeated by the politicians, on the ground that it was something new. This year the battle is on in full earnest. The Governor and some of the leading politicians favor the genuine Ballot Reform bill, but the opposition is resorting to its usual tactics, and the result of the battle is still in doubt.

The subject of taxation is also receiving much attention from the Legislature and the people. Our Tax Commissioners, after a year's laborious research and study, have come to the conclusion that our present "tax-everything system" is all right and only needs better enforcement; hence they recommend the adoption of the inquisitorial listing system. Unfortunately the people of Maine have never been instructed in the doctrines of the Single Tax. They are disgusted with our present tax system, but they know nothing of any better system. Our press is silent on the Single Tax question.

Notwithstanding our glorious motto, *Dirigo*, Maine will follow, not lead. But the dawn is coming!

MASSACHUSETTS.

S. T., Boston.—An organization known as the Prospect Progressive Union has been formed in Cambridge, its membership including President Eliot and many others of the Harvard faculty, as well as some of the people. The object of the union is chiefly educational. The present headquarters is in the Prospect House, on Main street, where there was a discussion of the Single Tax on February 10.

James E. Connell, Cambridgeport.—Forty petitions. When I read in THE STANDARD of the splendid work that is being done I wish it was possible for me to help in a more practical manner, but I can only pray to the Lord to bless the seed I scatter here and there.

J. N. Ryder, Wakefield.—One petition. I find that most of the people about here are strong partisans. They think that social conditions would be all right if we could only keep out the cheap foreigners, especially the Canucks.

J. N. Ryder, Wakefield.—Three petitions. Every little helps, you know. If I could talk as well as some of your contributors I think I could get more.

NEW JERSEY.

Mr. P. Flynn, Camden.—Twenty-one petitions. I am still on deck, standing by the bow-chaser, known to the deck hands as the Single Tax Petition. I have not been able to make as many vessels heave-to as I expected to when I last wrote, but I will keep up the good fight and stand by my gun. We have started the Equal Freedom Society and I am the secretary. We are taking good care of the Single Tax. The society meets

every Sunday afternoon at Reed's Hall, northwest corner of Third and Federal streets.

John T. Abbott, Passaic.—Four petitions. The iniquity of the personal tax has been shown up here recently, men who are worth thousands paying less than men who are worth hundreds. So it ought to open people's eyes, and I hope to get more petitions signed.

R. Chamberlain, Port Morris.—Nine petitions. I had very little trouble getting them signed, although the signers are Protectionists.

Frank W. White, Newark.—Ninety-eight petitions. They represent almost every trade and calling, and many departments of our city government, such as Board of Education, Tax Department, Comptroller's office and several members of the Police Department. One evening I went to Local Union No. 119, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and secured the signatures of all but five of the members present. What I have done every other Single Tax man in the city can do, for I have lost no time from my business; have simply carried some blanks in my pocket, and when I got into a conversation with an acquaintance I simply stuck one under his nose, and rarely failed to get him to sign.

PENNSYLVANIA.

C. Estella Bachman, Mauch Chunk.—Five petitions. Our Women's Enrollment Committee has received another splendid worker in Mrs. Blackman of Kansas. I have been writing and sending Single Tax literature to her, and she is already making converts. She writes:

I regard Kansas as a good field for Single Tax labor; our people are so thoroughly aroused, and so discontented with the present all for the rich, nothing for the poor, state of affairs that they eagerly grasp at anything which promises relief. * * * This discontent among us explains (at least to me), the rapid growth and large following of the Farmers' Alliance; and wouldn't it be grand if we could convert the farmers' wives to the Single Tax? The conversion of the men would soon follow.

She is scattering most of the papers and tracts I have sent her "among farmers in different directions, with the request to read and pass on." I send her another lot of our tracts by this mail. Herself and family are Free Traders. I have also received an enthusiastic letter from a Single Tax lady in Nebraska. Judge she will soon be a good helper in our work. We receive kind notes, and a number of papers, etc., from Single Tax men also. We do not care to have a strictly formal organization till the next National Single Tax conference; then it will be plenty of time to decide which is best, to join in the National League or have a women's league. Now we are only trying to do all we can to rouse women to understand and work for the Single Tax. I hope to have one active woman in every State on the committee, some time. "We are seven" now. Many women send in their names, and that is all; others pitch in and work. I enjoy hearing from the latter.

"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr.—Twenty-two petitions. One is a master carpenter and builder, Republican, who said that we should at least get 6,000,000 signers; he signed to keep up the excitement. Two is a dealer in hardware, Republican; signed to get rid of me. Three is a tenant farmer who just now is betwixt and between. Four is an insurance agent, Republican. The remainder are coachmen, gardeners, bricklayers, carpenters, engineers, etc. As we only have 98,000 signers out of a population of sixty-three millions, it seems reasonable to believe that many, very many, Single Taxers are satisfied with eating a square meal, lighting their segars or pipes and complacently sitting down to read in THE STANDARD what this, that and the other fellow has to report. Having done this they blissfully again retire to their holes to hibernate another season. If these lazy bones do not get together and do their duty they may only blame themselves if they eventually will have to graze with the goats.

"Uncle Tom's" Wife, Bryn Mawr.—Four petitions. One a grocer, two a butcher and three and four dealers in dry goods. One and three refused to sign last year, but since then have concluded that the S. T. is the thing.

FLORIDA.

H. J. Simonton, Dade City.—Four petitions. One of the signers is the president of St. Leo College. I would like to get a true copy of the Australian ballot law. I can get one Representative to introduce it, and perhaps have it passed.

TEXAS.

G. E. Hubbard, El Paso.—I enclose \$1.50—January subscription toward the expense of the National Committee.

James Charlton, Houston.—A number of Single Taxers have taken stock in an evening paper, with primal idea of having an organ to spread our doctrines rather than for the lucre there is to be made in such an enterprise. We are holding weekly meetings for which we have had a regular programme.

Patrick Egan, Paige.—Ten petitions. All railroad hands.

OHIO.

Philip Flood, Elyria.—Thirty-two petitions, of which I secured twenty-two and Mr. Hubbard, of Oberlin, secured ten. I do not experience very much trouble in securing signers.

INDIANA.

T. J. Hudson, Indianapolis.—Twenty-one petitions. I see by THE STANDARD of the 11th inst. we have 98,253. Let us have THE STANDARD of the 25th report 100,000. The only reason why I do not send more is because I haven't the time to go out and get them. Anybody will sign now. People are getting tired of the present system and invite investigation in hope of something better.

ILLINOIS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, February 13.—Last night's meeting was a very gratifying success in every particular, the presence of Mr. Louis F. Post and George Horton, the poet, adding to the interest that was naturally aroused by the fact that Mr. Edward Osgood Brown was down for the principal speech. Mr. Brown is always well received by the club, and last night he treated us to an address that was in every way worthy of his reputation and of the esteem in which we hold him. He spoke of "The Abolition of

Privilege," and I am well within the limits when I say he handled his subject as few men in the movement or out of it could have done. Mr. Post told me that he regarded the address as one high in literary merit and flawless in its logic, and I think he gave it no more praise than it deserved. If an outline of it would do it justice, I would give it here; but nothing less than its full text could convey a true idea of its elegance, its vigorous thought and its singularly lucid presentation of the principles for which we stand. Mr. Brown was frequently applauded, and when he sat down it was amid demonstrations of approval that were unmistakably genuine.

Then came an agreeable interlude in the shape of a brief talk by Mr. George Horton, of the Herald editorial staff, whose verse is beginning to attract favorable attention throughout the country. Mr. Horton was very happy in his introductory remarks, which he followed by the reading of two or three original selections from his "Songs for Tillers," a collection of poems that breathes the air of a divine discontent, and gives promise of a singer worthy of the New Crusade. The young poet was received with every mark of favor, and when he left the floor the applause was again and again renewed.

Mr. Post then followed with a ringing speech that was characteristically interspersed with apt illustration and clever anecdote. He told the audience what the Single Tax was, how it would operate and what it would accomplish, and he did it so wonderfully well that nothing was left to be desired. He, too, was given a cordial reception, and the club showed its appreciation of his address in the most generous manner, punctuating every sally of wit and every apt illustration with loud applause.

A resolution was unanimously adopted endorsing the proposed equal suffrage legislation now before the General Assembly; and another resolution on the subject of taxation, urging the passage of a law providing for the publication of assessment rolls in all townships and municipalities, was likewise approved.

The celebration of Jefferson's birthday is being favorably considered, and doubtless our club will undertake to have a meeting worthy of the occasion.

Mr. John Z. White has been invited to address the Single Tax conference at Jefferson City, Mo., on the 25 inst. He will probably accept.

Miss Leonora Beck will be the attraction next Thursday evening. Subject: "A Single Tax Woman." February 26, Mr. W. T. Kellett on "The Crime of Poverty." The nomination of officers will take place on that evening, the election occurring one week later. Several good speakers are promised during the early Spring.

A Single Tax Committee has been formed at Braceville, Ill. It is composed of the following gentlemen: John Mainwaring, president; Chas. E. Matthews, secretary; John McGregor, Wm. H. James, Thomas Norris. This is merely the nucleus of a club that will be organized in the near future. The work is progressing favorably in Illinois. My reports from every quarter of the State encourage the belief that the movement is gathering strength and that it will soon be made manifest in organization. I am doing my best, as far as my means will permit, to stimulate the activities of our friends and promote organized effort, and I am pleased to say that I am meeting with some success.

F. W. Maguire, Chicago.—Three petitions.

F. W. Irwin, Chicago.—I send you by Adams Express \$16.85 which was collected at two different meetings of our club for the purpose of assisting in supporting the National League. The present arrangement is that collections be taken the first meeting in each month, you can therefore expect further amounts.

IOWA.

James A. Ford, Sioux City.—Twenty-five petitions. I will get more when I have the time to spare.

A. Skilba, Boone.—One petition. The work goes rather slow here just now.

W. F. Wakeling, Brazil.—I enclose seventy-five cents toward expenses of National Committee, paid as follows: James Helmes, James Campbell and myself, twenty-five cents each.

MISSOURI.

L. P. Custer, St. Louis.—I send one dollar toward expenses of the National Committee.

MICHIGAN.

William Perkins, Saginaw (East Side).—Four petitions. The people here seem to be a little on the inquiry of late as to why this is thusly, that is, why times are so hard, particularly among the laboring class. Many business men here are in sympathy with our movement, but we are sadly in need of some to propound our ideas, so as to infuse some life; but I live in hope to see Single Tax the future system of taxation, just the same, and the quicker the better.

Ferdinand Amos, West Detroit.—Twenty-four petitions.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian.—Professor E. G. Walker, for a number of years county superintendent of schools, called on me the other day and signed the petition. I have ordered for him, at his request, all of Henry George's works.

MINNESOTA.

C. H. Buell, Minneapolis.—Thirty-three petitions. Our constitutional amendment bill is on general orders the Wennepin delegation will give it a strong support. There are also a good many others who will give it their hearty approval. I talked to-day with Representative Bjorge, a leading Scandinavian and Farmers' Alliance man in the house. He was elected on a platform demand of the taxation of land according to its value for use without regard to the improvements thereon. He was chairman of the committee that drafted that platform, and favors the Single Tax. We can tell better later as to the fate of the bill, but the prospect now is fair that it will go through the house. Some days ago I was invited to address the students of the Caton Business College here, and a brighter audience I have seldom talked to. They asked many questions and seemed very much interested in the Single Tax. Mr. Caton is a Single Taxer, and many of his

students have a strong leaning that way. The last Saturday in March I am to speak twice at Wendon in the south part of the State, afternoon to the farmers, evening to the townspeople.

E. Herrmann, St. Paul.—At a meeting of the Lyceum, held on Sunday, February 8, after listening to General Sanborn's arguments in favor of his charter bill, resolutions were passed against the bill, and among the resolutions were two in the direction of the Single Tax, as follows:

Resolved, That we favor such a system of taxation as will not discriminate in favor of vacant lands as against improved lands in the city.

Resolved, That we favor the Walsh bill for a constitutional amendment to permit municipalities to exempt personal property and improvements from taxes by a majority vote of the citizens.

The outlook for the Walsh bill is not very promising just now, but I believe before it will come to the final passage our legislators will be so thoroughly convinced that the people are unanimous in their demand that they will not have the courage to resist this growing public opinion.

CANADA.

R. T., S. T., Toronto.—The Evening News of this city is on the Single Tax platform to stay. After some preliminary skirmishing in the shape of occasional short but straight Single Tax articles it has settled down to solid work. Every day this week has appeared a column or more of Single Tax matter, the principal part of which is a series of connected articles which are evidently compiled from "The Case Plainly Stated," but are so arranged that each article is to some extent complete in itself. Toronto Single Tax men are jubilant now that they have the powerful aid of one of the city dailies. I had the pleasure of an interview with the editor of the News lately, and he tells me it is the intention of that journal to push the Single Tax in the municipal affairs of Toronto, where he thinks it is much wanted.

"PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?" FOR TEN CENTS.

Every Democrat and every tariff reformer should feel vitally interested in seeing that this edition does not fall short of a million copies.

Every reformer and every Democrat of any prominence to whom the matter has been suggested has heartily approved it, not, of course, as a party measure, but as a necessary supplement to the campaign of education of whose first fruits we tested last November. No one need feel the slightest hesitation in appealing to any Democrat or to any real tariff reformer for subscriptions to this edition.

A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.—Enclosed is \$250 for 2,500 copies. Pennsylvania is the great battle-ground; it is the Keystone State. If one hundred thousand "Protection or Free Trade?" could be circulated wisely in this State during '91, we would have no trouble about the '92 elections.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.—You had better increase my order to five thousand of the first hundred thousand. I still feel confident that we can make our orders fifty thousand. Michigan must be flooded, even if it takes three months of my time. Enclosed \$12.50 for 125 copies: please credit to H. P. W. Kinnery; he will devote considerable time to canvassing, and I feel that he will get away with all I cannot place.

A. C. Fyfe, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Find enclosed money for 89 copies. Will try to get all I can, though I have very little time to spare. Have been stirring up local politicians and look for good results and an order.

Puddefort Sheet Metal Works, Detroit, Mich.—Enclosed is \$10 for 100 copies.

L. L. Sloss, Pearsall, Texas.—Put me down down for 25 copies and send blanks.

Howard M. Holmes, Detroit, Mich.—Enclosed \$2 is for 20 copies. Will endeavor to induce others to subscribe.

Billy Radcliffe, S. T., Youngstown, Ohio.—Bad weather. Grippe and business have kept me in since last letter; but all I meet with go down. I don't find many who want a quantity, but all seem anxious to get one copy. One prominent Democrat said if the County Committee thought well of it he'd take his share. Poor man; still believes in a little protection. I told him he'd better hustle or the people would run over him. The time is fast coming when they will laugh at any one who talks tariff reform.

W. A. McKendrick, Brockton, Mass.—Will forward money for 100 books first week in March. Order enclosed.

Nelson Markle, Detroit, Mich.—Enclosed is \$7 for 70 copies. I got them almost all from men working in this shop; will send more soon.

C. B. Fillebrown, Boston, Mass., writes that this subscription for 5,000 copies was made so that every news stand and book store in and around Boston would be certain to have the book on sale as soon as published. Some orders have already been received from the book trade elsewhere, but much larger orders can be obtained from this source, if you will take the trouble to call on your booksellers and invite their attention to the fact that popular interest in this edition is already so great that within a few weeks 50,000 books have been subscribed for. In fact, it looks as if all of the first hundred thousand will be paid for before March 1, when we hope to begin the work of mailing them. Extra Tract No. 36 will be mailed free to any list of names you send to W. J. Atkinson, Secretary Hand-to-Hand Club, 42 University place, New York.

MICHIGAN SUBSCRIPTIONS.

In order to give all an opportunity to compete for the prize offered by L. W. Hoch for the largest list of subscriptions sent in from Michigan, he has decided to extend the time to April 30th. As the subscriptions received each week will be printed in THE STANDARD please send in your orders and cash weekly. The list stands: George Robins, Jackson City, 1 copy; F. Conn, St. Johns, 20 copies; Edward Leedom, Montague, 30 copies; Howard M. Holmes, Detroit, 20 copies; Nelson Markle, Detroit, 70 copies; A. C. Fyfe, Grand Rapids, 89 copies; P. G. Wood, Undine, 70 copies; J. F. Dunnebach, Detroit, 100 copies; Puddefort Sheet Metal Works, 100 copies; Geo. Lemke, Menominee, 500 copies; L. W. Hoch, Adrian, 5,000 copies. Tract extra, No. 36, containing sample pages of "Protection or Free Trade?" Press notices, subscription blanks and an appeal for subscriptions will be mailed free of charge to any list of names furnished of those likely to subscribe on application to W. J. Atkinson, 42 University Place, New York.

A DINNER A LA EDWARD ATKINSON.

Boston Courier.

The modern recipes for making dinners are framed upon the supposition that you are to obtain the materials of manufacture for nothing. They should be written in this form: Go to the market and beg a beef bone from the butcher; steal a couple of parsnips and half a dozen potatoes from the peddler's cart; get your grocer to trust you for half a pound of rice; borrow from your neighbor a cupful of flour; from another neighbor a hod of coal; put your bone into a quart of water and let it stew slowly; slice your potatoes and parsnips; get an onion somewhere and slice it also; put them in with the bone. Stew two hours and add your flour. Simmer twenty minutes and serve. This dinner will supply a father and mother and sixteen children, according to the modern cook-book. Cost, one match to light fire.

A CASE OF DIVIDE AND CONQUER.

New York Weekly.

Ignoramus—How is the work of civilizing and Christianizing Africa progressing? Cultivated Friend—Very nicely. The European powers have finally succeeded in dividing the land among them without a war.

EQUALIZING WAGES.

Paris Figaro.

A deputation of working women presents a memorial setting forth that the women working as hard as the men ought to have the same salary.

"You are right," responds the employer. "After Monday the men shall be paid no higher wages than yours."

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Levens, Secretary of the National Committee, at No. 12 University place, New York.

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol. F. Clark; sec., Theo. Hartman.

CALIFORNIA.

LOS ANGELES.—Single tax club. Pres., Clarence A. Miller; sec., S. Byron Welcome, 301 Macy st.

OAKLAND.—Oakland single tax club No. 1. Meets every Friday evening at St. Andrew's Hall, at 1050 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Hodgkins.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 303 16th st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., H. C. Allen, 303 16th st.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Pres., Geo. W. Koser; sec., Frank L. Beardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Chas. F. Adams' Scientific Council (No. 2) of the People's Commonwealth. First Tuesday evening of each month at 150 A st. n. w. Trustee, Chas. Newburgh, 64 DeFrees st.; sec., Dr. Wm. Geddes, 1719 G st. n. w.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Deeth; sec., J. Henley Smith, 12 W. Alabama st.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific Hotel. Pres., Warren North Bailey, 338 Hudson av.; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 635.

BRACEVILLE.—Braceville single tax committee. Pres., John Mainwaring; sec., Chas. E. Matthews.

QUINCY.—Gen City single tax club. Meets every Thursday evening at 7:30, room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 5th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Single tax league. Pres., Thos. J. Hudson; sec., Chas. H. Krause. Every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., Manser Hall, cor. Washington and Alabama sts, room 12.

BROWNSD.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 135 South 3d st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur Monson, 320 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 501 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolt; sec., W. W. Daniel, 803 Franklin st.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 131 Poydras st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Public meetings every Saturday evening, 3 River Road. Pres., A. C. Dunlap; sec., H. G. Casey, 32 Spring st.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m. in hall 506 East Baltimore st.; Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 North Carey st.; sec. sec., J. W. Reed, 26 S. Broadway; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1436 E. Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon,

3 p. m., at Industrial Hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jas. T. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 739 W. Franklin st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Massachusetts single tax league. Pres., William Lloyd Garrison; sec., E. H. Underhill, 45 Kilby st., Boston; treas., George Cox, Jr., 72 High st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Single tax league. Public meetings second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 2:30 p. m., at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec., Emily T. Turner, 5 Cambridge st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Meetings first Tuesday of each month at Field's building, Field's corner. Pres., Edward Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building, Field's corner.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Pres., Geo. W. Cox; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood st court, Neponset.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 959 Tremont st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Monday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., Oliver T. Erickson, 2293 Lyndale av., N.

ST. PAUL.—Single tax club. Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., Geo. C. Madison, 339 E. 7th st. Second and fourth Tuesdays at 41 W. 4th st.

MISSOURI.

HERMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Charles E. Reid; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307 1/2 Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Public meetings first and third Thursday of each month at Bowman's Hall, 11th and Locust sts. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble st.

NEBRASKA.

WYMORE.—Wymore single tax and tariff reform club. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Union hall. Pres., Julius Hammi; sec. and treas., H. C. Jaynes; P. O. Box 137.

NEW JERSEY.

CAMDEN.—Single tax club. Meets every Saturday evening at Filton hall, n. e. cor. Second and Filton sts. Pres., M. J. Flynn; sec., Wm. M. Callingham, 520 Lind st.

JANVIER.—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney B. Walsh.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday of each month at Assembly Rooms, 942 Newark av. Pres., Jas. McGregor; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 223 Grand st.

PLAINFIELD.—Single tax club. Pres., John L. Anderson; sec., J. H. McCullough, 7 Pond place.

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathburn; sec., M. T. Gaffney, 211 Plane st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg av. Meetings every Thursday evening at 169 Market st.

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 924.

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morison, box 272, Washington.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting first Thursday of each month at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 73 Lexington av.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

Metropolitan single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 8th av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred C. Keller.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meet-

IN PROTECTIONIST PENNSYLVANIA.

New York Press.

A most extraordinary and astonishing development in respect to women's work is found in the fact that five hundred girls and women are employed in the foundries of Pittsburg, doing work for \$4 and \$5 a week, for which men were formerly paid from \$14 to \$16 a week. This is something new. The labor they perform, putting heads on nails and bolts, is something which taxes the muscles of strong men. This woman question needs investigation.

VERY LITTLE CONSIDERATION, INDEED.

Boston Globe.

"A bill for the benefit of beggars and thieves," is what Captain John Codman says should be the title of the shipping subsidy bill. But that would hardly do for a title, because it would fit too many of the bills which the Republican Congress has enacted and is trying to enact. A bill that is not for the benefit of wealthy beggars and thieves gets very little consideration from the statesmen now in power.

THE LAW AND THE ROBBER.

Boston Globe.

"The McKinley bill was not popular in the last election and the majority of the people do not believe in it now," says Speaker Barrett. Yet it is a law, and is robbing the people every day. If the Republican leaders in Congress respected the wishes of "a majority of the people" they would repeal it. But they don't. "The public be —."

ings Wednesday evenings; club house, 198 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Pres., Robert Baker; cor. sec., G. W. Thompson, 9 St. Marks av.

Women's single tax club. Meetings the first and third Tuesdays, 198 Livingston st. at 3 o'clock. Pres., Miss Eva J. Turner; sec., Mrs. Robert Baker, 864 Greene av.

East Brooklyn single tax club. Meetings every Monday evening, 408 Evergreen av. Pres., James Hamilton; sec., Jas. B. Connell, 448 Central av.

Eastern District single tax club. Meetings first and third Mondays, 284 Broadway. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 9th st., South Brooklyn; sec., Emily A. Deverall.

Eighteenth ward single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m. at 253 Evergreen av. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pettenkofer, 253 Evergreen av.

ALBANY.—Albany single tax club. Meetings Sunday, 7:30 p. m., Beaver Block, cor. Pearl and Norton sts. Pres., F. W. Croake; cor. sec., Geo. Noyes.

OSWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan; sec., James C. Murray.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., Wm. Minehaw, 50 West Main st.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schmaleberg's hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., T. G. Drake, 215 Kouwenhoven st.

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday evening at 576 River st; Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martin, 576 River st.

OHIO.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Monday night, 7:30 o'clock, Robertson's Hall, Lincoln's Inn Court, 227 Main st. near P. O. Pres., James Sample, 478 Central ave.; sec., W. H. Beecher, Carlisle st., Mt. Auburn.

CLEVELAND.—Central single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m.; rooms, 301 and 302 Arcade, Euclid av. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Simon, 7 Greenwood st.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 East 5th st.

GALLON.—Gallon single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 South Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

HEMLOCK.—Single tax club. Pres., D. P. Sweeny; sec., James G. Hayden.

MIAMI.—Miami single tax club. Pres., H. M. Scott; sec., J. T. Reals.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 13 Public sq.

ZANESVILLE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. H. Longheed; sec., Wm. Quigley.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club. Hevenor's hall, 41 Main st. Meetings for discussion every Sunday at 3:30 p. m.

GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec., E. D. Burieligh, 13 Willow av.

JOHNSTOWN.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., S. E. Clarkson.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia, every Thursday, 8 p. m., 1341 Arch st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7:30, 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

POTTSTOWN.—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Friday evenings each month in Weltzenkorn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 723 Penn st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, Mineral Spring road and Clymer st.

RHODE ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.—Pawtucket single tax association. Pres., John McCaffery; sec., Matthew Curran, 64 Main st.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee, of Rapid City; sec., John B. Hanten, Watertown.

BALTIC.—Baltic single tax club. Pres., T. T. Vrenne; sec., T. J. Questad.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres., Jno. B. Hanten; sec., L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Pres., J. S. Menken; sec., R. G. Brown, Appeal building.

TEXAS.

EL PASO.—Single tax club. Meetings every Saturday evening, 200 1/2 El Paso st. Pres., G. E. Hubbard; sec. and treas., M. W. Stanton; cor. sec., G. H. Higgins.

HOUSTON.—Houston single tax club. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 7:30, Franklin st. Pres., E. P. Alsbury; sec., E. W. Brown.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—Milwaukee single tax league. Pres., L. B. Benton; sec. treas., Martin Johnson.

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We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

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5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or on half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

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